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COMMENT

*A County Manager
Probable in Near
Future*

The long overdue county manager is about to put in his appearance. A bill authorizing city-county consolidation for any county in Montana became law on March 1. It is in substantially the same form as drafted by Dr. A. R. Hatton. Although designed at first to relate only to the city of Butte and the county of Silver Bow, a substitute measure of general application was introduced at the last moment, and it was this which finally passed. It is an enabling act to give effect to the constitutional amendment adopted last November authorizing the legislature to provide optional forms of county government and to permit city-county consolidation.

Counties which avail themselves of the home rule powers which they now possess will have an extremely simple form of government under a city-county manager. He is appointed by an elected commission of 3 to 7 members (depending upon the size of the county). The manager in turn appoints the subordinate administrative heads. The administrative organization provides for five departments, viz., departments of finance, police, public works, health, and fire protection. The commissioners serve for four years with overlapping terms. The manager holds office at the pleasure of the commission.

This home rule act is one of the most significant public documents drafted in recent years. In drafting it Dr. Hatton was confronted by many situations new to our political experience. He has promised us a longer article for an early issue, which will give the REVIEW readers the information they desire upon this important law.

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*How One
City Scored
Itself*

Morgantown, West Virginia, is soon to know where she stands. Four hun-

dred of her citizens have just completed a municipal score card. It all grew out of the success which the extension department of West Virginia University had had with scoring rural communities. The score card was arranged under ten principal divisions, the possible score in each division being 100, or 1,000 for the entire city. Each division was divided into sections and a committee was assigned to each section to make the score.

The ten divisions were: Government of the municipality, the city as a business center, prosperity, social welfare, health, education, recreation, fine arts, religion, and community spirit. The scoring reports are being made at public meetings and already organized efforts are under way to raise the scores next year.

A reproduction of the final score card on the health of Morgantown will tell

you more about what is actually being done than anything we might say.

A—PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE	
POSSIBLE 30 STANDARDS	EARNED 14 PRESENT CONDITIONS
1. Full-time health unit.....	Part-time doctor and bacteriologist.
2. Vital statistics reported.....	Good.
3. Welfare Work:	
Dental.....	None.
Tuberculosis.....	Fair.
Maternal and Child Hygiene.....	None.
Preventable diseases.....	Fair.
Venereal diseases.....	Fair.
4. Educational Agencies:	
Public Schools.....	School nurse; Dental hygienist; Junior Red Cross; Modern Health Crusaders.
Newspapers.....	Efforts have been rather sporadic although at times animated. They apparently need a health policy, health contributors, and member of staff to act as health critic.
Motion pictures.....	Estimated as doing about $\frac{1}{2}$ of what they might do to teach health.
Others.....	Churches, boy scouts, camp-fire girls, public lectures, exhibitions, bulletins, placards, etc.
B—WATER AND FOOD	
POSSIBLE 30 STANDARDS	EARNED 15 PRESENT CONDITIONS
Water:	
Supply adequate.....	Yes.
Bacteriologically and chemically safe.....	Usually.
Palatable.....	Occasionally.
Milk:	
Supply adequate.....	Below per capita consumption.
(1 pint per capita)	(3 pint).
Safe supply.....	Yes.
From herds regularly tuberculin tested.....	90% tested.
From dairies systematically inspected at least once in six months.....	Infrequent.
Regular monthly milk inspection for fat, sediment, and bacteria.....	Infrequent.
Foods:	
Adequate variety available at all times of year.....	Yes.
Quality.....	Good.
Sanitary handling:	
Protection against flies, dust, contamination, etc., storage and refrigeration.....	Variable.
C—GARBAGE AND SEWAGE	
POSSIBLE 20 STANDARDS	EARNED 15 PRESENT CONDITIONS
Garbage:	
Sanitary containers.....	Less than half.
Frequent collections.....	Yes.
Sanitary removal.....	Not up to date.
Disposal.....	Only partially satisfactory.
Sewage:	
Sewer system adequate.....	Partially.
Sewers hygienically safe.....	Generally.
Disposal.....	Not satisfactory.
D—PRIVATE PRACTICE	
POSSIBLE 20 STANDARDS	EARNED 18 PRESENT CONDITIONS
Physicians:	
Enough, not too many.....	Good (1 to 600 people).
Specialists able to take care of all reasonable demands	Specialties not well distributed, i.e., not enough surgeons.
All active members in a live county medical society	Not adequate X-Ray facilities.
	Practically all members, some inactive. Society supports public health activities.
Dentists:	
Enough, not too many.....	One to 1,700 at present, possibly room for a few more dentists.
All members of active local dental society.....	Part only belong.
Hospitals:	
Well equipped, with enough beds, efficiently managed	115 beds as compared to an average of 106 beds in ten cities of about same size. More experience will possibly bring improvement in management.
Up-to-date training school for nurses.....	Not adequate.
Nurses:	
Enough, well trained.....	25 graduate nurses as compared to an average of 28 in the other ten cities.
A community nurses' bureau or registry.....	No.
Total Health Score: Possible 100	
Earned 68	

ORGANIZED LABOR FAVORABLE TO CITY MANAGER PLAN

BY ALFRED F. HOWE

Staff Correspondent of the Portland Press Herald

Mr. Howe has just visited fifty-three manager cities to find out for the Portland (Maine) Press Herald whether manager government is a success. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

HAS organized labor stamped with approval the city-manager plan of government?

Limiting the question to the fifty-three manager cities and towns as a whole which I have visited in the last four months, it can be answered positively in the affirmative.

LABOR LEADERS INTERVIEWED IN FIFTY-THREE CITIES

Those fifty-three communities are scattered over the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan. They have a combined population of more than 2,000,000.

In every city and town visited, labor officials and members were sounded on their attitude toward the manager plan. A vast majority unreservedly pronounced it as preferable to any political system of municipal government. The minority, relatively small as a whole but numerically impressive in a few cities, just as unqualifiedly condemned the manager plan as no better than the mayor-council form and in some respects worse. "A plague on both your houses" was the attitude of a considerable element of the irreconcilable minority.

There is absolutely no question, however, that so far as the scope of my inquiries extended, organized labor

is "sold" overwhelmingly on the city-manager plan. But it must not be assumed that it has no reservations regarding the way the plan operates in some instances, even though such reservations may not seem to be in keeping with all the implications of the dictum that labor has set the seal of approval upon business government. For among the preponderant majority of labor unionists who so heartily endorse the plan are many critics of the administrative personnel here and there of commission-manager government. Others pick flaws and defects in the plan itself. But with all the real or fancied shortcomings and faults of city business control, as its labor friends see them, the outstanding fact is that the trades unionists as a body are irrevocably for its continuance and its spread.

WHY LABOR FAVORS THE C. M. PLAN

The reasons labor gives for espousal of the manager plan are those which are recruiting cities so fast to the fold of business government—that it fixes responsibility, is quickly responsive to the popular will, eliminates graft and favoritism, and, in giving a full dollar in service for every dollar spent, tends to reduce the burdens of taxpayers and thus to lessen the shifting of those burdens to all without property through the media of innumerable charges.

My investigations were conducted for the Portland (Maine) *Press Herald*, which has presented my findings and is advocating a manager charter for that city. A proposal for such a charter for Portland was defeated at a referendum in September, 1921, by a majority of 101 in a vote of more than 10,000. The legislature has been asked, through a petition signed by 2,900 voters (more would have been obtained had they been necessary), for permission to hold a similar referendum next September. Indications are that the manager charter will be adopted by a decisive vote. It is modeled very largely after the instrument which will go into effect in Cleveland next January.

The findings regarding the attitude of labor toward the manager plan, as set forth in the *Press Herald*, were checked up by Portland labor leaders, with the result that the thousands of trades unionists in that city, who voted the other way in 1921, are now almost a unit for business government. Ernest E. Pratt, business agent for the Portland Carpenters' Union and legislative agent of the American Federation of Labor for Maine, is a member of the committee that drafted the proposed charter. The *Maine Labor Leader*, published by E. Shipman Smith, who has conducted labor newspapers in New England for twenty-five years, says all arguments against the manager charter have been refuted.

Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, gave the writer the following signed statement:

November 23, 1922.

MR. ALFRED F. HOWE,
The Portland *Press Herald*, Portland, Me.

Dear Mr. Howe: I have your letter of November 7 and I remember with pleasure my meeting with you in New York when you were with the *New York Herald*.

I note that the Portland *Press Herald* is conducting a campaign for the city-manager plan of government for Portland, and you ask my opinion of the city-manager form of government.

Replying to your question, I will state that I am heartily in favor of the city-manager form of government and as a matter of fact, I was a member of the Committee of 100 who brought this plan to the attention of the voters of the city of Cleveland which resulted in a vote favoring the city-manager plan, and at the expiration of the term of our present mayor, such manager plan will be put into effect.

Politicians never have and never will be able to handle the business of a city in the way that it should be handled.

Our present form of city government is extravagant and unfair to the people who have a right to expect that the business of a city be handled along business lines.

This, in my opinion, can only be done under the city-manager plan. It has, in all cases that have been brought to my attention, proven highly successful.

The city of East Cleveland has been operating under the city-manager plan for a number of years, and so far as I know, they would not give up their present form of city managership for the unbusinesslike way in which the affairs of the city were handled under the old plan of turning the business of the city over to politicians, who in far too many cases, did not have the necessary qualifications to handle the affairs of the city.

This applies to all cities as well as the one I have named.

In closing this letter, I will repeat that I am most heartily in favor of the city-manager plan of government.

Yours very truly,

W. S. STONE,
G. C. E.

THE DAYTON AND NORFOLK ATTITUDES

The attitude of E. A. Numan, editor of the *Labor Review*, of Dayton, is well known in city-manager circles, and now his forceful championship of business government is familiar to the trades unionists of Portland. Mr. Numan is an earnest advocate of proportional representation as the best method for making city management

more representative and thereby remedying what he regards as a defect in the plan. The writer found his viewpoint reflected very widely in a more or less insistent demand on the part of labor for amending manager charters with P. R. provisions and for incorporating such provisions in new charters. Preferential voting does not seem to go far enough to fill the bill, especially in large communities, and in some cities now considering manager charters nothing less comprehensive than proportional representation is able to win labor's full support.

Capt. J. A. Kirby, of the Dayton fire department, and a vice-president of the International Association of Fire Fighters, gave the writer a message for the Portland firemen, who also are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, commending city management as the best form of municipal government yet devised for the interests of labor and uniformed city employees.

In Norfolk the writer did not find a labor leader or a union member who was not enthusiastic for city management. The members of the Business and Professional Women's Club also were virtually unanimous for it. The only discordant notes in the chorus were struck in criticism of one or two members of the council and of this or that department head. But labor's loyalty to the Ashburner administration has been demonstrated abundantly whenever it has had a chance to express itself at the polls.

OTHER CITIES

The writer found most of the labor men of the strongly unionized city of Roanoke for the manager plan, but many of them given to biting

criticism of the manner of its operation. S. A. Minter, president of the Virginia State Federation of Labor, who lives there, voiced this considerable dissatisfaction and specified many instances of alleged discrimination against small home owners and of preference to wealthy residential districts in street and other improvements. He declared that one commissioner was unfit for office because he was unmarried. But only comparatively few of the disaffected labor men favored reversion to political government.

It was largely trades unionists living in Stratford, Connecticut, and working in Bridgeport factories, whose votes recalled the commissioners of Stratford after they had ousted Manager Hunter and which elected commissioners who immediately reinstated him. Mr. Hunter had refused to play politics, and in his determination to give Stratford a business administration he found a strong champion in Mayor Sammis, around whose standard the union workers rallied almost in a body.

On the other hand, it was the union workers of Waltham, Massachusetts, who caused the abandonment of the business charter there last November. But they seemingly repented of their action in part, because a month later they were equally prominent in electing the deposed city manager as mayor of the new political administration.

Walter J. Millard, in the January issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, makes a point of the lack of personal contact between the Dayton city hall and the people. The writer found precise counterparts of that plaint in not a few other manager cities, but in no instance did such complaints proceed entirely from the labor element.

THE GARDEN VILLAGE

A NEW METHOD OF DEVELOPING SUBURBAN LAND

BY ADOLPH RADING

Translated by Frank B. Williams

If a large tract of land is to be subdivided as building land for low houses, the following are the two possible methods that may be adopted for the purpose:

As an example, a tract is taken that is bounded by four sewered streets. Such a tract may be either built up with a small percentage of the lot covered (as in illustration No. 44) *i.e.*, the area may be covered with a network of streets, and the houses, scattered over the entire area, may be located along these streets; or the tract may be built up as shown in illustration No. 45; *i.e.*, the edges and corners of the area, with an addition in the middle, made necessary by the method of development, may be covered with houses close together, while most of the area remains open.

THE SUBDIVISION A PROBLEM IN ECONOMICS

Not only in our times of poverty but at all times, subdivision, like every other building enterprise, is primarily to be considered as an economic problem. A study of our problem from this point of view shows, for illustration No. 44 as compared with illustration No. 45, a greater length of streets and a considerably increased cost of sewerage, lighting and maintenance. The economies of the new scheme would be considerable.

As a problem in economics, therefore, we must regard the differentiated subdivision of residential and garden areas as preferable; nor must its aesthetic side be overlooked.

Large areas cannot, in these times of shortage of materials and money, be built up quickly as a whole; the development must be spread over many years, perhaps many decades.

A network of streets, spread over the entire area, is significant only as a whole; as parts, merely, they are unfinished, unsatisfactory, run off into emptiness. If, however, the land to be developed be divided, and certain limited areas built up (illustration No. 45) then the separate parts, especially when from the beginning they are of different sizes, can be built up independently, each in accordance with the available resources at the time; and these parts, being definitely limited development areas, will function each for itself as an entity.

UNITY OF PICTURE

To this unity of effect is added, after the development of the entire area, a second charm—the relation of part to part, of picture unit to picture unit, the effect of each picture on the other, framed in the landscape, bringing out the unity of building land and of open country, and making the whole a clear, comprehensive picture.

Note by translator.—This article (from the German of Adolf Rading, in a recent number of *Der Stadtebau*) is here given, practically complete, as a novel treatment of a problem confronting us, in common with the city planners of all countries.

FRANK B. WILLIAMS.

This result will not be obtained by a network of streets spread uniformly over the entire area; it can be produced only when the land appurtenant to each house is so extensive that the individual houses are each in effect a single picture, *i.e.*, when the area not built on is so large that the individual houses are each distinct. This can not be the case in the usual suburban development; the available appurtenant land is so small in extent as to make separate pictures impossible.

Within a network of streets we therefore find ourselves, in present-day city developments, in the inside of a widely ramifying picture, whose limits we cannot perceive, and which cannot be viewed as a whole.

LOW BUILDING TRADITION

It would be logical for the modern suburban development, in studied contrast with the high building city development, to choose an entirely new city planning form. The con-



Abb. 44.

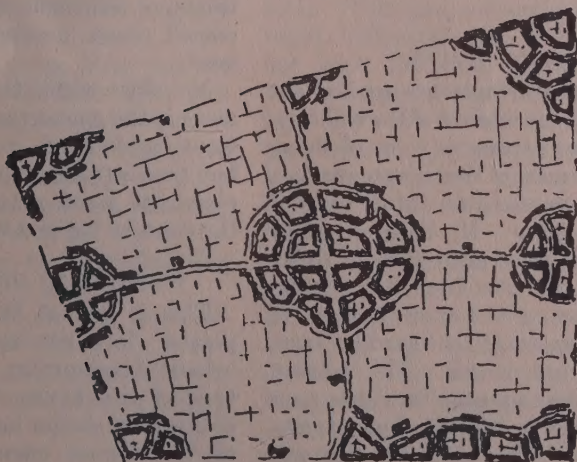


Abb. 45.

tent of such a form can be found in the existing low building development, the village, rather than the fundamentally different form, the city. The garden suburb, except in the single family type has, for the development of the land, its prototype (not in plan but in form) in every respect in the village. It would be logical, therefore, to study this tradition. In this way the transition from city to open country can be made in the simplest and most natural manner, instead of beginning, formlessly, somewhere near the city edge, on an existing street with its high houses, and running off anywhere, into emptiness.

To take the city street over into the low house development as we do at present is logically and practically an impossibility. We may modify it, practically, by narrowing it, and paving it less expensively, but we do not thus eliminate it. The suburbanite, in this form of development, does have his garden in immediate juxtaposition to his house; but since the garden must evidently be small, this forces the city upon him again, substantially modified, indeed, but nevertheless a city development—which was just what drove him from the city centre.

OPEN SPACES

Suburban developments are laid out distinctly in the interest of the children. They are an expensive form of living that for the mass of the city population, within the foreseeable future, is out of the question. If, however, they are created, they must furnish something that the city, from its very nature, cannot give—open spaces, of either agricultural or garden land, meadows and woods. The present suburban development furnishes none of these; the pedestrian finds streets, streets, streets, just as in the city; and

garden land, appurtenant to houses, from which he is excluded, is practically of no use to him.

On the other hand, the amalgamation of garden land, in the differentiated development here advocated, makes many uses of garden land possible.

In contradistinction to development by a network of streets, it is not a characteristic of this method of development that to each house the plan should allot a garden, since the form of development is not dependent upon the treatment of open spaces. The garden is not desired by every one, nor can it in all cases be cultivated.

The open space so won can remain open space and be used for the general advantage. Thus the landscape can be preserved, woods retained and houses and open country do not exclude each other, but heighten each other by contrast. Beautiful spots can by this method of development be made more effective and the settlement, with its sharp limits, will furnish distinct and intelligible pictures, in the enveloping roominess of the open country.

It is possible to allow alternation of farm and garden, to lease certain tracts, or sell them, and thus to adapt oneself most accurately to existing needs.

Not alone within the area of development is the connection between settlement and open country attained, but the settlement merges in the simplest and most natural manner into the country beyond it.

RELATION TO OPEN COUNTRY

This is one of the most essential points. It is not necessary in a suburban development to repeat the type of city house—the endless rows of precisely similar houses to rent—until it becomes unendurable; and so

stereotype the settlement: but rather the city man should be put in touch again with the land—a touch which to-day he has lost. In the city life of almost a thousand years this connection has been lost. It is our good fortune in Germany to have the ancient village tradition, running down to our own times. But the layout should not copy the village, any more than it does the city; for the suburbanite is a city man, and has for the most part city needs. It is nevertheless possible that out of the union of city and village a new unity will arise, that will satisfy these needs, and will not deny the claims of the land. The connection with the country cannot be attained by a mathematical scheme of subdivision of land into gardens, but only by settlement immediately in the country, vitally relating house and country each to each.

That is to say: while the high house city plan is absolutely dependent upon the building lot, the low house suburban plan cannot be evolved from it alone. Here the solution of the reciprocal relation of house and country is for the layout at least as important, and is unfortunately almost universally forgotten. In order to reach the solution it is necessary to make a city plan that in layout of streets is independent of the house form and the size and shape of the lot. This does not mean formless, romantic lack of all restraint, but, in the differentiated development of settlement as dwelling and garden land, the greatest efficiency through shorter streets, less expense for sewers and lighting, and lower building costs by use of party walls.

Characteristic, to-day, of the well-planned residential city street is not the closed block so much as the row of houses, upon both sides of which

there is light and air. The row of houses, with greater spaces between the houses, has heretofore been the usual suburban development. Thus neither beauty nor touch with nature is given. The land is so divided up that it is no longer country, and community needs are sacrificed to the individual.

As soon as the effort is made to use the available area as a single unit, there is a concentration of the houses at certain points, where there is a network of main and cross streets, of a size proportionate to that of the concentrated area.

Since these agglomerations are not extensive in proportion to the ample space of the development as a whole, and since the houses are low, there is no need of breaking up the blocks. We have, therefore, as characteristic of the roomy suburban development of low houses, blocks, that formerly was the form used in city tenements.

In our discussion of suburban development, we have discussed only the city unit, including, as it does, its suburbs. This is because the composition of the city, from the city planning point of view, is an unsolved problem, and to clear it up it is necessary to attain to clear thinking with regard to it. The new economic form must begin, however, not with the city, but with the rural settlement, *i.e.*, with enterprises that are self sustaining. Only when this thickly settled open country, this new economic structure has come into existence, can the creation of the new city follow as a consequence.

It is in the sincere belief in the value of a city plan, by which the city gradually melts into and merges with country, each organically connected with the other, that this article is written. May such a city form soon arise.

BOSTON FACES RADICAL CHARTER CHANGES

BY GEORGE H. McCAFFREY

Secretary, Good Government Association, Boston

A small council, elected at large, has not attracted uniformly good men. The present mayor is not one of the "high minded." These facts give new impetus to the effort to restore the partisan ballot with election of council by wards. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

FROM 1907 to 1909 a competent commission studied the city government of Boston. It recommended many changes in administrative methods which were adopted and have resulted in distinct improvement, particularly in financial affairs. This commission also recommended political changes. Opposition developed in both party machines and the result was that two plans dealing with the political side of the charter were submitted to the voters on a referendum in 1909. The plan of the commission won by a narrow margin. It provided for a mayor elected for a four-year term and a council of nine, elected at large, three each year for a term of three years. All nominations were to be by petition and elections were to be "non-partisan."

The biggest bone of contention ever since has been the city council. Until the end of 1918 the plan adopted worked well. During those years the council was an outstanding bulwark for good government and constructive measures. Due to its persistent efforts the "pay-as-you-go" financial policy became an accepted principle in city affairs and a segregated budget system was forced upon an unwilling mayor. Its proceedings were dignified and there was little wasted time. There was, however, difficulty in secur-

ing candidates of very high grade, particularly when older members of the council did not run for re-election.

THE COUNCIL DECLINES

By the end of 1918, there had been a serious decline in the membership of the council due to the backsliding of one or two members who had been elected with Good Government Association support, but who very soon deserted the cause of good government. About this time also the first intimations and rumors of graft in the city council, since 1909, began to make their appearance. Since then the council has gone down hill rapidly until at the present time the majority is of a decidedly cheap calibre with no real desire for good government and willing to ignore the wishes of the people as expressed in votes on referenda. It is generally believed that some members are either corrupt or distinctly amenable to the influence and persuasion of those who are corrupt. At the present time five out of nine members are distinctly "gang" men. That is, they are generally hostile to the cause of efficient and progressive municipal government. The other four were elected with the support of the Good Government Association and generally stand for its principles consistently. The mayor is an out and

out "gangster" who is fast spoiling all the good work which ex-Mayor Peters did in building up sound principles of administration and good morale in the personnel.

The reasons commonly advanced for the decline in the council are, of course, various. The assertion that the present constituency is too large appears to have real merit. Boston, at present, has over two hundred and twenty thousand registered voters and owing to its topographical features the various parts of the city are not easily reached from each other. It is very difficult for anybody, without an established political reputation, to make much impression upon such a mass of voters when running for such a minor office as city councillor. It is obvious also that the cost of circularizing the voters is almost prohibitive for anybody who has not the support of a very large personal or political organization.

LITTLE INTEREST IN OFF-YEARS

In the years when a mayor is not to be elected very little interest has been shown since the war. In 1919 only thirty-five per cent of the registered voters turned out; in 1920, thirty-one per cent and in 1922 only twenty-nine and eight tenths per cent. The tendency is, of course, for the professional politicians and their supporters to constitute an unduly large proportion of this small percentage.

The public seem to be fatigued with politics by the time that the municipal election comes around. Prior to 1921 there was an annual state election. The primary campaigns begin in August and political contests continue practically without intermission until the municipal election in the middle of December. The state and national campaigns are, of course, far more important than the municipal cam-

paign and use up almost all of the energy and a large part of the funds available for political purposes.

Still another reason for small interest in municipal campaigns is the season of the year. It is useless to begin until the state and national campaigns are over, consequently municipal candidates do not take the field actively until after the November election. It is then too cold for outdoor rallies and the expense of hiring halls and getting out an audience is more than most candidates can attempt upon a large scale, even if there is much public interest. The season of the year is also bad for election day. In the last four years, for example, the weather on election day has been as follows: 1919, clear, but with a temperature of two above zero; 1920, rainy with four inches of rainfall in twenty-four hours; 1921, a sleet storm the day previous made walking very bad while the day was raw and threatening; 1922, a rain storm brought about glare ice conditions in many parts of the city which made walking dangerous, while later in the day there were very heavy showers.

QUALITY OF CANDIDATES AT LAST ELECTION

At the last election the six leading candidates, in the order of their total vote, were as follows: Councillor Watson was seeking re-election for the fifth time; Councillor Brickley, for the first time; Messrs. Healey and Harrigan and Miss Luscomb were three new candidates with Good Government Association support, while James T. Purcell, the treasurer and one of the most active supporters of Mayor Curley in his election campaign, in 1921, was ostensibly a real estate dealer, but still very active in the retail Liquor Dealers' Association. Watson is extremely erratic, but is a clever,

dirty campaigner. Brickley had a distinguished record in battle during the World War, but his record as a councillor is very poor. While the election campaign was in progress he was endeavoring to refute charges that he had received bribes to vote for two land purchases by the city. He claimed persecution by the Good Government Association, which had supported him three years previously, and the Boston Finance Commission which was investigating his conduct. Mr. Healey was a member of the city government twenty years ago, a former member of the legislature and more recently acted as editor of the *City Record* and as an assistant secretary to Mayor Peters for four years. Mr. Harrigan is a young aggressive veteran, who has been active in politics for about six years. Miss Luscomb is an officer of the Boston League of Women Voters and has been a close student of municipal affairs for about twelve years. There were thirteen other candidates with varying qualifications, but scant political strength. Watson led the ticket with twenty-five thousand votes; Brickley followed with twenty-three thousand; Healey was third with nineteen thousand; Harrigan and Miss Luscomb followed closely with over eighteen thousand apiece; Purcell got only thirteen thousand and the other thirteen candidates ranged from eighty-seven hundred to twelve hundred.

A CHARTER COMMISSION

The Boston Charter Association is an organization formed by the group which was most active in securing the adoption of the present charter in 1909, then known as the Committee of One Hundred. They felt that it would be wise to maintain an organization to ensure a fair trial for the new charter and it is unquestionably due to their efforts and the confidence

which the voters have in them that the charter has been in use over thirteen years without serious change. This Association realizes that the majority of the present membership in the council is distinctly and undeniably poor, possibly corrupt, and certainly, in some of its conduct, indefensible. For the past three years they have advocated the appointment of a special commission to study the working of the charter and to make recommendations to the legislature for any changes which it deems expedient. This plan has been blocked hitherto because the advocates of a district council thought they could carry their plan, but this year there seems to be a better prospect of obtaining a new commission. A favorable committee report was made in the house of representatives on February 19, to establish a commission of eleven members, two appointed by the governor, two by the mayor, two by the president of the senate and five by the speaker of the house of representatives. Such a commission is, of course, purely political. Of recent years the voters of Boston have rejected every charter measure submitted to them as the result of the work of such a committee. It is probable that only the appointment of personnel of real ability, in whom the people have confidence, will make possible the adoption upon referendum of recommendations by this commission.

The members of the Charter Association are just as firmly convinced as before that the principle of electing the council from wards, or small districts, is unsound and that in a very short time the result of adopting that plan would be worse than the present system of election at large. One of the real difficulties at present is that the people have vague recollections, if any, of the thoroughly disgraceful conditions which existed

in the old council elected by wards, while the present conditions are very much in mind. The Association feels, however, that to "revive the evils of the recent past or to perpetuate those of the present is a confession of political impotency which the people of Boston are not yet ready to make."

Nor do they believe that it will be necessary to do so. Last year, a bill providing for proportional representation in the election of the council was introduced by some individual and received lukewarm support from the Charter Association. During the year the plan was more carefully studied. This year the Association petitioned the legislature to provide for the election of a city council of fifteen members, five from each of three boroughs, for a term of two years, by the Hare system of proportional representation. Nomination was to be by petition and elections were to be non-partisan, as at present. The boroughs were to be made up by combining the present wards into districts, each containing about seventy-five thousand voters. This change was recommended in order to establish constituencies which would be more practical for candidates without great organization or large funds at their disposal. The Association was quite emphatic in its opposition to the establishment of such boroughs except in connection with the Hare system of proportional representation. The election date was to be changed so that elections would be held on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November in the years when there is no state and national election.

STRONG EFFORT TO RESTORE PARTISAN ELECTIONS BY WARDS

If a charter commission is established, as seems probable, a very vigorous effort will be made to induce it to

report, not only in favor of a ward council, but also in favor of returning to a convention system of nominations and restoring partisan designations on the ballot. This movement originates largely with those who have never in spirit accepted the charter of 1909 and who are now endeavoring to capitalize the discontent with the present council. The objection is made to nominations by petition that anybody can become a candidate and that this results in an almost nondescript list of candidates without any real political strength; while it is asserted further that the restoration of party designations on the ballot would tend to make elections be fought as between the Democratic and Republican parties instead of along racial and religious lines of division, as has frequently been the case of late. To get party candidates, of course, would involve either a primary election or a party convention. These people ignore or minimize the fact that the Republican party is hopelessly in a minority in Boston and that the inevitable result of restoring a ward council, particularly with partisan elections, would simply be to re-establish village politics and to develop a new flock of ward bosses. If party designations are added other results would be the rehabilitation of both the Democratic and Republican city machines, which are now impotent and to fasten an almost impregnable Democratic machine control upon the city government. The racial and religious issues would simply retire behind the cloak of party and be just as effective and harmful as at present.

Such a charter commission would, of course, have many other subjects brought before it, such as the term of the mayor, which some people think ought to be two years; provision for his removal for malfeasance, mis-

feasance or nonfeasance in office; the restoration of a recall for the mayor and making him eligible for re-election; his salary; the powers and duties of the permanent Finance Commission; the control of the state civil service commission over the appointment of department heads; the removal of

a tax limit and the abolition of the borrowing power; increasing the size of the school committee and revising the division of powers between it and the mayor. It is generally conceded, however, that the most contentious subjects would be the provisions in regard to the city council.

THOUGHTS ON THE MANAGER PLAN

JAMES W. ROUTH

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The author believes that the manager cannot furnish political leadership necessary in large cities like Cleveland as the old fashioned mayor does. To fill the gap the prestige of the mayor under manager government must be increased to make him a real legislative leader. ∴

THE decision of Cleveland to adopt the city manager plan of government may be said to mark the end of one stage and the beginning of another in the evolution of city government in the United States. Heretofore confined to the smaller cities, only six of the 280 odd having populations greater than 100,000, now the manager plan apparently is to spread to the greater cities. For who can doubt but that the example of Cleveland will be followed by other cities dissatisfied with the inefficiency, extravagance and improper representation of the other more common forms of government? Surely this is an epoch-making event—this action by the voters of Cleveland!

In winning his victory in Cleveland, Doctor Hatton has given us much food for thought. The only recognition which is evident in the Cleveland charter of the larger requirements imposed by the greater size of the municipality is the enlargement of the council to twenty-five members instead of the usual five or seven, and the division of the city into four pro-

portional representation election districts instead of one. With these slight modifications we are to witness an experiment by a great city with a form of government already proved successful in smaller municipalities. Does the Cleveland charter represent a sufficient modification of the usual text, in view of the larger problem involved?

Is it not well that we put aside any passive skepticism we may have felt in the past and consider seriously the importance of this experiment and its undoubted influence on the future of city government in our country? It is greatly to be hoped that the experiment will be successful. If it is successful, there are certain factors contributing to its success that will be brought out as they have never been brought out by the experience of smaller cities.

SOME "NEXT STEPS"

After listening to the admirable discussion of the question, "Is City Manager Government Applicable To

Our Largest Cities?" at the Chicago Convention of the National Municipal League, I must confess to a mixed feeling of admiration for Doctor Hatton and his clear-cut argument and of some regret that certain points were not given more emphasis by him in his discussion. These points have to do with what seem to me essential "next steps" in the evolution of the manager plan and its adaptation to large cities. They are to a limited extent recognized in some of the manager charters and I am sure that many who have followed the growth and spread of that form of city government are well aware of them. I claim no originality for bringing out these points. It seems to me that it is important for them to be more generally and openly discussed, and in this confess my present purpose—to start that discussion.

The chief, and indeed the only, argument against the manager plan for large cities was expressed by Mr. Hull in his negative argument at the Chicago meeting to be the need for a recognized political leadership in such cities. This leadership, according to his argument, cannot be found when the chief executive is the city manager, an appointed employe of the council. This is an argument that is enunciated wherever the manager plan is proposed in any of the larger cities. Yet it is an argument that can be discounted altogether if we will stop placing all our emphasis on the manager, his importance, his powers, his omnipotence as a panacea for bad, corrupt or extravagant government, his ability to institute efficiency and order where before all was inefficiency and chaos.

MORE MUNICIPAL POLITICS WANTED

There is much more to good government and democratic government than mere mechanical efficiency. Political leadership is an essential factor in all

progressive communities. In the complexity of modern life in a great city political leadership is supremely important. But political leadership and politics in a city are far different from political leadership and politics in the state and nation. City politics has to do with community housekeeping. It is not concerned with political parties; it has no single root in the tenets of Republicanism, Socialism or Democratism—to coin a much needed term. City politics has to do with the making of public improvements and the methods of paying for them; it concerns itself with the school system, the police department and fire protection; it consists in adjusting the neighborhood affairs of a community whose major interests are identical—the protection, the beautification, the service of the home. City politics is an intimate affair that permeates the household of the city dweller. Let us no longer say "eliminate politics from our city governments"; let us rather demand more politics, better politics, real politics. Let us foster and develop community thinking on community affairs. Let us uproot the weeds of political chicanery and corrupt practices while carefully nurturing the growth of real democracy in our cities.

We can look to our new manager charters for aid in this. But we must broaden our viewpoint and in our discussions of the manager plan emphasize not only the importance of the manager but the greater importance of the return to real democratic government made possible through its adoption. The manager is important, we can all bear witness to that, but there is an even greater need in our cities—the need for real political leadership—a leadership that will confine itself to consideration and determination of the policies to be observed in executing the will of the people as to their home affairs.

GIVE THE MAYOR A BIGGER PLACE IN
THE MANAGER PLAN

One essential "next step" in the development and improvement of the manager plan seems to me to be the enlargement of the importance of the mayor, the president of the council, and recognition of him as the real political leader of the city. It is true that we have grown accustomed to look to the executive for leadership, but this is no proof of the supreme right of the executive in this regard. Rather it is proof of how far we have drifted, how we have closed our eyes to the increasing encroachment of the executive on the legislative power, how we have gradually allowed the removal of the heart of the government from the representative and policy-determining branch and its improper transplantation in the branch whose rightful function is simply the efficient execution of the will of the people as expressed through their representatives. It is time that we gave more heed to the selection of our representatives and returned to them full power to determine policies and make laws. Because of the mediocre ability of the leaders of the legislative body, the executive now is frequently the chief legislative officer of the government, at the expense of executive efficiency.

The success of the manager plan is due largely to the complete separation of the legislative from the executive function. I believe that a greater measure of success is possible in the future if we will bend our energies, at least in part, to strengthening the political significance of the council and bringing about popular recognition of the fact that real political leadership may and should be found in the chief legislative officer of the city—the president of the council, the mayor under the manager plan. In taking

this step we return to the original conception of democracy in government. We return to the people a greater measure of control of government than they have been accustomed to exercise in recent years. We give the legislative body full responsibility for sensing and expressing public opinion. We give to the executive, the manager, full responsibility for executing the will of the public efficiently and economically. Government then is truly representative, truly democratic.

The president of the council, to my mind, can very readily be given this added dignity of political leadership. Let him have full authority to initiate legislation; let him be a full-time employe of the people, readily accessible to the public on matters concerned with public policy; even let him, at the expense, perhaps, of apparent inconsistency in principle, have a limited veto power. Further than this, I am inclined to believe that a better choice of manager in many cases would be made if the president of the council, or mayor, were given the power to nominate the manager, the appointment, however, to be made only with the consent of the council by resolution. With the right of nomination, of course, there should also go the right to suspend or remove the manager, likewise with the consent of the council. The members of the council, and the mayor in particular, should be encouraged to run for office on platforms of public policy concerned with the development and welfare of the city.

Space prohibits more lengthy discussion of the importance of leadership and the equal importance of making accessible to the public an elected representative with adequate power to direct policy formation in line with public opinion. It may be said that a political leader cannot be created by charter, and with this I agree. I

am afraid, however, that the American people have acquired a certain more or less fixed habit of mind. The word "mayor" has a certain significance above that of "councilmen" or "commissioner." Is it not reasonable to expect popular approval of a charter which gives them a mayor with greater powers than the other members of the legislative body? Is it improbable that candidates for this one office, running perhaps at large rather than from either of the four or more election districts, will be more carefully considered than the councilmen and actually be of larger caliber? My conception of this officer is not that of the dignified ceremonial head of the city. That is secondary. The primary conception is that of the political leader, chosen by virtue of his qualities as a leader, on a platform approved by popular vote.

THE QUALITIES OF A MANAGER

Perhaps I have said enough now to call down on my head the wrath of the gods, and more adverse argument than my spare time will permit me to digest. So blithely I will go my way, and turn briefly to another point which I believe must be given careful consideration in order to safeguard the future of the manager plan.

This second point is concerned with the manager himself. In approaching it I am conscious that I may be laying myself open to more trouble than I have previously encountered. Perseverance in the error of my ways, however, seems to have become a habit. Hence I shall proceed to point out the extreme need of careful selection of managers, that they may in every way measure up to the importance of their positions. In selecting a manager for a great city such as Cleveland, where shall we search? Here is a task that is truly colossal. In theory the mana-

ger plan is training men in the smaller cities for managerships in the greater ones. Practically, however, the movement is as yet too young to have done any such thing. Furthermore, it may be seriously questioned whether manager cities as a rule have been overly successful in attracting and holding men of the caliber necessary for the successful administration of the affairs of a great city. It is quite a different matter to be satisfactory as a manager of a small town and to be competent to serve as well in a great city. Almost totally different qualifications are necessary. Certainly far superior ability as an executive is required in a manager of a city like Cleveland than in the manager of a town of 50,000 or even 100,000 population. And it is obvious that the greater city and its larger and more complex problems demand a man of wider vision and greater capacity for administrative accomplishment. Managing a city, it is said, is largely a matter of common sense. But it requires more than common sense to manage a city with a population approaching three quarters of a million. The size of the job is an index of the size of the man required to handle it.

To my mind the greatest danger which confronts the manager movement is the danger of mediocrity of personnel in the managerships. People generally do not appreciate the fact that the administration of the business of government, if it is to be economical, efficient and effective, requires highly specialized knowledge as well as unusual ability. As an engineer perhaps I may brave the disapproval of my fellow engineers by saying that too often city councils choose engineers for managers solely because they are engineers. This is a mistake. Managers must be broad—broad of vision, broad of sympathy, broad of understanding. An engineer-

ing training is valuable as a basis for any executive experience, but if it has been the whole training the individual may be handicapped by inability to grasp the less technical, more human aspects of city government. Therefore, I am doubtful of the wisdom of selecting engineers as managers, unless they have had also other and broader training.

If our great cities are to have manager charters, it becomes even more important that managers be recruited from among those best qualified, that extreme care be exercised in selecting managers for the smaller cities who

may be promoted to the greater. Those who have the success of the manager plan at heart, therefore, should continually insist upon care in the selection of managers. A question that may well be given careful consideration is: how may we attract to and hold in the manager positions men of outstanding ability, men of broad vision, keen executive ability and thorough appreciation of the principles and ideals of democracy in government? On our success in answering this question, it seems to me, may well hang the fate of the city manager plan.

AUTO-TOURIST CAMPS

BY ROLLAND S. WALLIS

Municipal Engineer, Iowa State College

Is the auto camp a bit of praiseworthy hospitality or a nuisance? There are more than 2,000 of them, so they must be popular. This article gives directions for cities wishing to establish one. :: ::

DURING the past five years the number of passenger automobiles in use in this country has more than doubled. There has occurred a corresponding increase in highway traffic, and every year finds more and more families taking to the road for vacation travel. Entirely aside from the spirit of wanderlust which asserts itself periodically with the most of us, there are several reasons why many new converts to the ranks of "gypsy autoists" are gained each season. The economy of the camping plan makes travel possible to many who otherwise could not readily finance such trips, while the flexibility of such a travel plan as to route and schedule is especially

appealing to all. The railroads can hardly show the tourist all the points of interest he would like to see, while the automobile, on the other hand, permits him to explore and to tarry in each locality as suits his fancy. He camps where night finds him, and he comes to know thoroughly the districts which interest him.

The pioneers in this mode of touring made camp wherever suitable space could be found—frequently on the outskirts of towns near the roadside. Gradually it became the custom of municipal park authorities to allow auto-parties to camp in out-of-the-way corners of public parks. Many commercial organizations, likewise, saw

Editor's Note.—The Engineering Extension Department of Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, has in preparation a bulletin to be entitled "Auto-Tourist Camps." It will contain about 80 illustrations.

their opportunity, and the auto-tourist camp (an institution which five years ago was practically unknown) was created to meet the need. In the last two or three years such camps have increased in number with astonishing rapidity—in fact, so popular has the idea become that it is impossible to state with anything like accuracy how many exist at the present time. One directory, compiled about a year ago, lists some twelve hundred. Probably a complete list would show twice this number.

OVER-NIGHT AND TERMINAL CAMPS

These auto-tourist camps vary in character from the simple provision of a tract of ground suitable for camping to well-organized camps equipped with all the facilities which experience has proved to be desirable. They may be classified into two general types as to function: (1) the "through" or "over-night" camp, and (2) the "destination" or "terminal" camp. Camps of the first type serve mainly as over-night camps for through travelers. The destination camps are located near points of such interest that many users consider the locality as at least a temporary destination. Some camps function in both ways.

The tourist-camp has had its beginnings and most rapid development in our western states. The directory already mentioned shows that the states east of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers are outnumbered, on the average, five to one as to the number of camps per state. In most of these western states some sort of a camping site is available within a few hours' drive from any point. This means that a growing competition exists in the matter of providing attractive accommodations. The town that is content merely to set aside a tract of ground and to erect a few

signs welcoming the auto traveler is being "passed up" by much traffic which often might readily be persuaded to stop over.

The possession of an attractive camp is rapidly coming to be (with auto-tourists at least) a sort of measure of civic progressiveness. Certainly, every community that is favorably located on a highway of importance and does not maintain a suitable camping ground is overlooking a real opportunity, because, aside from enjoying the satisfaction of having rendered an attractive service to the tourist guest, the town profits materially in other ways.

THE ADVERTISING FEATURE

It would be difficult, for example, to find a more effective way of advertising any community. The auto-traveler is one of the most prolific boosters a town can hope to enlist. Hospitable towns are advertised from one end of the country to the other by appreciative visitors—and this brings more visitors. Tourists are good spenders and do most of their buying in towns where they stop over. The average auto-tourist travels leisurely, frequently remaining for several days in towns that evidence their hospitality by offering real service. The various local purchases (cash purchases, by the way) of an average camping party total higher than is ordinarily thought, being variously estimated by commercial organizations at from one to five dollars per person per day. Under favorable conditions it can be shown that the profits on these retail sales cover the cost of carrying and maintaining the camps several times over. Some auto-tourists are looking for new homes. Many a town has gained desirable citizens through the local camp which afforded such parties an inexpensive resting place while they

leisurely looked the community over and became acquainted with local people and conditions. Adequate tourist camps also discourage indiscriminate roadside camping with its various objectionable features and its hazards.

The existence of a local tourist camp results, then, in certain community benefits of indefinite value, as well as a direct and measurable gain to the merchant class due to their profits on the sales made to the city's transients.

SELECTION OF THE SITE

In the selection of a suitable camp site it is necessary to consider natural conditions, such as drainage, soil, shade, water frontage and natural beauty; accessibility, as to highways and the business district of the community; public utilities—particularly water supply and light; the ownership of the ground—whether to be public or private; and the area required.

Many camps are located in public parks, and this works out satisfactorily where the park is large enough to avoid any crowding of the visitors by the ordinary local uses of the area, such as picnics, band concerts and other public gatherings. It is not fair to invite transients to a city and then to tolerate the possibility of their finding the facilities being uncompromisingly monopolized by some local picnic party. Nor is it reasonable to expect campers to keep such grounds neat and clean, as the local users notoriously leave things in an untidy condition. If it is not practicable to set aside for the transients a definite area and sufficient facilities so as to secure for them a reasonable degree of privacy, some other site should be obtained.

CAMP EQUIPMENT

Camp equipment has not become standardized to any marked extent,

and it is probable that there will always be considerable variation in the equipment provided, due largely to differences in local conditions. A satisfactory solution of the important problem of camp shelters, for example, depends to a considerable extent on climatic conditions. Certain facilities are of course essential, while other items may more properly be classed as unnecessary conveniences. The general competitive tendency, however, is to provide more and better equipment. While a sort of standardization is being approached, the equipment of the average camp is undoubtedly below this future standard.

A convenient and ample supply of pure water is a fundamental requirement. Under ordinary conditions connections should be made to the city water mains, as such water is under pressure and may readily be piped to any part of the grounds. Wells and springs of known purity may be made to serve small camps, but such water should be protected carefully from surface contamination. Even at larger camps it may sometimes prove advisable to rely on wells or springs, distributing the water about the grounds by means of one of the various pumping systems available.

The satisfactory disposal of sewage is another fundamental requirement. Nothing is more appreciated by the average camper than clean and sanitary toilets. At too many camps the accommodations are abominable and get worse as the season advances. The essential fault is more often with the maintenance than with the equipment itself, as with proper care and cleanliness almost any well-constructed equipment will prove satisfactory from the sanitary standpoint. Where it is practicable to connect with the city sewer system, no other plan should be considered. Otherwise, the advice of the

state health department should be obtained and carefully followed.

The grounds should be well lighted for the convenience and safety of the campers. The exact nature of the installation depends on the local conditions.

While most campers carry their own stoves, most camps provide some sort of cooking equipment—usually wood-burning stoves of brick, concrete or stone. Such stoves are ordinarily poorly-designed and of little practical value to the camp cook. The fuel supply is oftentimes a vexing question. Many camps now are equipped with a number of gas-plates, the user paying for the gas by means of a coin-in-the-slot meter. Open fires should be prohibited, due to the litter, the fire hazard, and the damage to the sod. It is desirable that at least part of the cooking facilities be under cover, so that they may be used in inclement weather.

A camp that provides no shelter to which auto-parties can resort during spells of bad weather can hardly be regarded as fully equipped. The present tendency seems to be to provide some sort of a central service or shelter building. Often this is obtained by remodeling an existing building, while many progressive communities have erected fairly elaborate structures for this purpose. Such buildings may include such facilities as kitchens with running water, sinks, lockers for food and stoves or gas-plates for cooking, with tables and benches for serving meals, with heating stoves or fire-places, easy-chairs, writing-desks, looking-glasses, telephones, drinking-fountains, touring-maps, local directories and reading material, with wash tubs, toilets and shower baths—in short the structure is made a sort of community center for the camp. Often the caretaker lives in the building.

Every camp should have some sort of bathing facilities. If natural beaches are not available, shower baths should be installed for the comfort of the visitors.

CAMP MANAGEMENT

The relative importance of camp maintenance can hardly be overemphasized. Most camps that fail in spite of favorable locations do so through a lack of good management. Auto-tourist camps will not run themselves. It may be accepted as a sound and fundamental principle that such camps, to be a true success—an asset to the community—must be given careful and practically continuous attention throughout each season.

A caretaker is essential. He should be selected carefully, as much of the success of a camp depends on his attitude and personality. He is the local person with whom the visitor comes in closest contact. It is therefore very important not only that he take pride in the camp and in keeping its facilities attractive, but that he also personify to the campers the community's spirit of hospitality and cheerful service.

Tourist camps usually have police protection, but the method in which it is handled varies with local conditions. Most caretakers are deputized as police officers. Where the camp is in a public park the park police look after it.

Registration of visitors is of value in various ways to the community and to the visitors alike.

While most camps are operated on a "free" basis, many "destination" camps patronized by large numbers of tourists on account of local attractions are operated on a "pay" basis—usually a charge of fifty cents per day per car. Whether the tendency is or is not toward putting camps on a charge basis cannot be stated with assurance.

Those localities which have camps overrun with visitors find it hard to resist making a charge, which apparently is willingly paid by most travelers. There are good arguments on either side, but hardly space here to state them fairly. Beyond doubt, if the merchants directly benefited contribute towards the cost in reasonable proportion to their direct gain, any community favorably located can afford to maintain a first-class camp on a no-charge basis. The local viewpoints of commercial organizations and of municipal officials must, however, decide the policy to be followed.

A neat and attractive camp can be maintained only at the price of continued and efficient vigilance in the collection and disposal of camp refuse. The average camper will overlook a lack of elaborate facilities if the essentials are present and the camp is kept clean and sanitary. This means regular and frequent collection of garbage and rubbish, and scrupulous cleanliness in the matter of the camp toilets.

Every camp must adopt certain regulations covering the management policies as to length of stay, camp advertising, camp soliciting, use of grounds, camp fires, car repairing, sanitation, sickness, horse-drawn vehicles, permits, etc. Lack of space forbids any discussion of these interesting problems.

Camps may be given publicity in various ways. In addition to the "goodwill" boosting of the pleased tourist, such agencies may be used as road signs, camp-entrance signs, printed maps and folders, daily papers, and local civic organizations.

WHAT A TOURIST CAMP COSTS

The first cost of an auto-tourist camp may vary from a few dollars to many thousands. This wide variation de-

pends not alone on the capacity of the camp and the character of its facilities and service, but also on the extent of local donations of land, time, labor and materials. The first cost may be divided into (1) the cost of the site and (2) the cost of the equipment. Under favorable conditions the cost of the land may be little or nothing, but the provision of satisfactory equipment nearly always involves expense, even where there are existing facilities that may be utilized. Probably, under average conditions, the construction costs for a camp of average capacity could be tentatively estimated at between one and three thousand dollars. It is, however, readily possible to put more than this maximum into a shelter-house alone.

Many factors enter into the cost of maintenance, such as the length of the season, the camp capacity, its popularity, the ground rental, the cost of water, lights, fuel and telephones, the compensation of caretakers and police, general repairs and upkeep, and the returns from service charges or from concessions. Inspection of certain camp-maintenance figures seems to indicate that the maintenance costs of a well-equipped and well-managed camp may be taken as approximately twenty per cent of the equipment investment. Special local conditions can easily affect this ratio materially.

WHO PAYS THE BILL?

The cost of equipping and maintaining an auto-tourist camp may be borne or shared by the municipality, commercial organizations, civic organizations, automobile clubs or by individuals. Nearly every possible combination of these agencies may be found financing these camps, but the order in which they are listed indicates approximately the relative investments of each, taking the country at large.

As has already been pointed out, the municipality derives certain broad benefits from the existence of a local camp, while the local merchants, as a class, derive the direct financial gain. It seems that a fair division of the burden should be made, chiefly between these two parties. Generally the municipality can be fairly looked to for the land, such municipal utilities as water, lights and sewers, and perhaps certain police protection. The commercial organizations, possibly assisted

by local civic and automobile organizations, can well assume the equipping of the camps, as well as a major portion of the maintenance expense. Progressive commercial clubs are enthusiastic as to the trade advantages created by the existence of their local tourist camps. Where such organizations show a tendency to shoulder the entire burden on to the municipality they are apt eventually to experience the chagrin which usually comes to those who try to get something for nothing.

CHICAGO'S VICISSITUDES UNDER STATE REGULATION OF STREET RAILWAYS

BY CHARLES K. MOHLER

Chicago

Chicago's street railways have been regulated aplently but not always to the advantage of the people. :: :: :: :: :: ::

WHEN the *Fate of the Five-Cent Fare*, Chicago was published in the REVIEW (September, 1919) the fare paid on the surface lines was seven cents and on the elevated lines eight cents, by permission of the Illinois public utilities commission.

CHRONOLOGY OF FARE CHANGES

Since the state commission assumed control over the local transportation affairs of Chicago, the following rates of fare have been in effect:

The Elevated Lines.—On November 19, 1918, the elevated roads were authorized to charge a six-cent fare.

On August 6, 1919, an increase to eight cents was authorized.

On January 28, 1920, an order was issued extending the right to charge an eight-cent cash fare, to July 31, 1920. It also provided for two tickets for 15 cents.

An order on July 31, 1920, established a ten-

cent cash fare with four tickets for 35 cents. On January 4, 1921, these rates were ordered continued indefinitely.

On September 18, 1922, the elevated roads, voluntarily, with the consent of the commission, reduced the ticket rate to three tickets for 25 cents. The ticket rate was thus reduced from $8\frac{2}{3}$ cents to $8\frac{1}{3}$ cents. At this writing the cash fare remains at 10 cents. A weekly pass, transferable and good for an unlimited number of rides, has been initiated at \$1.25.

The Surface Lines.—On April 25, 1919, the public utilities commission denied a petition of the surface lines for an increase in fares.

On August 8, 1919, the surface lines began charging a seven-cent fare, permitted by the commission.

On June 19, 1920, the commission fixed a fare of eight cents.

On November 5, 1920, the commission entered a final order continuing the eight-cent fare.

On November 23, 1921, the commerce commission (successors to the utilities commission and with a new personnel) entered an order re-establishing the city ordinance fare of five cents.

The companies went before the United States district court and secured an injunction to prevent the order going into effect, meantime continuing to charge an eight-cent fare.

On April 8, 1922, an order was entered by the commission establishing a tentative fare rate of six cents to go into effect on May 1. This in turn was stopped by a United States district court injunction.

On June 15, 1922, an order of the United States district court became effective for a seven-cent cash fare with three tickets for 20 cents. All passengers are entitled to a transfer slip to be retained as a rebate check, in case the court decides the seven-cent rate has been too high.

THE STATE STEPS IN

Space will permit of a partial review of surface line cases only. These cases are typical and the more important as the surface lines carry about 80 per cent of the city's local transportation.

Most open-minded people of Chicago have resented the interference of the state in the regulation of local utility service. This is especially true where state interference has resulted in setting aside what were intended to be, and regarded as, valid and binding contracts with service companies.

The Fate of the Five-Cent Fare related in some detail the refusal on April 25, 1919, of the utilities commission to grant the Chicago surface lines an increase in fare over the ordinance contract of five cents. The commission deducted about \$45,000,000 from the \$156,482,000 capital account, claimed on account of the ordinance contract with the city. Unbiased citizens conversant with the situation, felt that the commission had made its finding in the public interest.

In July, 1919, a strike was called for an increase of wages and better working conditions. The companies went before the commission and demanded an emergency increase in fares. As above noted, the seven-cent rate was allowed and became effective August 8. The

companies, in the meantime, had undertaken to have valuations made.

THE COMMISSION LOOKS AT VALUES AGAIN

The companies presented claims in the hearings for values from \$164,453,000 up to \$247,246,000 for their properties, depending on the unit prices as of different periods or dates. The totals were as follows: Cost new as of April 1, 1919, \$200,371,689, less depreciation \$164,453,284. Cost new at average prices, period 1914-20, \$176,588,415. Cost new as of April 1, 1920, \$247,246,637. While, as just stated, the companies claimed their properties were worth much more than that provided for in the contract with the city, amounting on June 1, 1919, to a total of \$157,700,461, they magnanimously admitted they would be satisfied with the capital account as a rate base. (This is almost exactly what they were finally allowed.)

The commission carried the hearings on valuation to a conclusion, following the petition for and allowance of emergency rates, on August 8, 1919. The outcome of the strike, as shown later, has been very profitable to the companies.

BASIS FOR DETERMINING VALUES. ORIGINAL COST

In considering Case No. 9357 for the final order, the commission reviews the figures available through the capital account. In this they tabulate the amounts given in the original Trac-tion Valuation Commission's (T. V. C.) valuations made by the city for the various properties prior to the time they were brought under the settlement ordinances of 1907. The new value for about 872 miles of single track is given at \$71,686,814, and the depreciated value at \$52,566,428, or 73.3 per cent of new. The commission

states that: "In determining the original cost of the property now employed in the public service, we must eliminate the original cost of the property destroyed during the period of rehabilitation. . . . We find from a consideration of the evidence that \$23,000,000 is the deduction that should be made on this account." The text of the findings in Case No. 9357 does not disclose the method or evidence through which the figure of \$23,000,000 for deductions was reached.

It may be worth while to present some of the figures as revealed in the reports of the board of supervising engineers in reference to rehabilitation. It appears that out of 871.6 miles of single track involved in the original valuation of \$71,686,814, 481.8 miles (including all of the cable lines, by far the most costly portion), or 55.3 per cent of the single track, was reconstructed during the three-year period of rehabilitation.

In the commission's summary of the case, they tentatively at least allow 25 years as the life of rail. This in turn would indicate an annual depreciation of 4 per cent. If an equal amount of the 481.8 miles of track were reconstructed in each one of the three years of the rehabilitation period, this would indicate an average remaining life from the date of valuation until the time of replacement of one and one-half years, or an average remaining per cent of wearing value of 6 per cent. Assume that the average time for completing rehabilitation was two years and the remaining wearing value 8 per cent. Add to this 7 per cent for scrap value and you have 15 per cent as the remaining value of 55.3 per cent of the property which was replaced during the rehabilitation period. As it may be fairly assumed that other elements of the property were replaced at the same ratio as that for track, we then

get at least 55.3 per cent of \$71,686,814, which equals \$39,642,808. But only 15 per cent of this amount apparently remained at the time the valuation was made, or 85 per cent of \$39,642,808 equals \$33,696,387 as the depreciation to deduct from the original new value of \$71,686,814. The depreciation deduction may justly be more than 85 per cent. There is in addition some amount of depreciation that should be deducted from the balance of \$32,044,006 which remains after deducting the rehabilitation amount. The commission assumes in the review of the case, that 20 per cent depreciation or 80 per cent condition is the proper amount to allow for normal depreciated condition. Taking 20 per cent of \$32,044,006, we get \$6,408,801 as an additional deduction to make for depreciation. This together with the \$33,696,387 gives a total depreciation deduction of \$40,105,188 to be taken from the new cost value of \$71,686,814. In other words, on the above assumption, the actual value that remained in the property at the time the valuation was made would appear to be not over \$31,582,626. The actual value of the property was probably much less than this amount, for the reason that some which did not pass through rehabilitation was placed at 55.8 per cent and at 70 per cent of condition new in the valuation, instead of the assumed 80 per cent. Property of this kind in the hands of a receiver, as some of it was, is rarely maintained at 80 per cent of condition new. The second-hand value is more nearly 50 to 60 per cent for a *well-maintained* street railway property.

To the \$48,630,620 allowed as the value of the old property now used or useful, they added \$84,658,575 as the amount of the rehabilitation, additions and betterments since the original valuations, amounting to a total of

\$133,289,195 as the original value of the property in service January 31, 1919.

After making various adjustments, the commission says: ". . . we find . . . \$122,168,809.80 represents the original cost of the property . . . on January 31, 1919, . . . now employed in the public service, deducting depreciation which had accrued at the time of the Traction Valuation Commission valuation. . ."

If the original new value not rehabilitated (\$32,044,006) is added to the \$84,658,575 cost of rehabilitation and additions since the valuation of the T. V. C. and the total reduced to 65 per cent of condition new, we get \$75,856,678. Add to this the depreciation reserve \$7,945,200 and the residual value of the rehabilitated portion at the date of valuation for the ordinance contract we get a total of \$89,748,300. Even this is probably \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 more than the honest secondhand value of the property at the time of the hearing.

The cost to construct and fully equip an electric railway under normal conditions is generally from seventy to eighty thousand dollars per mile of single track. The total operated revenue single track amounts to about 990 miles; 990 miles at \$80,000 per mile gives \$79,200,000. If the liberal figure of \$90,000 a mile is used, we get \$89,100,000 new value, which at 70 per cent condition gives \$62,370,000. Adding the depreciation reserve to this, gives \$70,315,000.

Apparently no deductions are made for depreciation on the reconstruction and additions to the property during and since rehabilitation. The commission claimed that the depreciation reserve based on 8 per cent of the gross earnings takes care of all depreciation. It states that 8 per cent of gross earnings amounts to 3 per cent of the value which it assigned to the property.

Three per cent annual depreciation means an average life of the property of over 33 years. Anyone conversant with street railway properties knows that no such average life as this is attained.

In discussing the question of original cost, the commission says: ". . . we find from the evidence that the sum of \$122,168,810 represents the original cost of the property . . . on January 31, 1919, . . . deducting depreciation which had accrued at the time of the T. V. C. valuation and excluding franchise values, property destroyed during the period of rehabilitation, the 10 per cent and 5 per cent additions . . .," etc. "There is a serious question whether the existence of this fund and the use which has been made of it does not make improper deductions for depreciation from the original cost of the property valued by the T. V. C. and remaining in service after the rehabilitation period. After taking care of the renewals on January 31, 1919, there remained in the renewal fund . . . \$7,945,200."

Apparently few major renewals have so far been undertaken on property constructed during the rehabilitation period or on the new extensions and betterments since then. The amount of the renewal fund on January 31, 1919, would not go far towards major renewals and replacements; consequently the integrity of the investment and property value is far from being maintained.

COST TO REPRODUCE NEW

The exact grounds on which the commission reached its conclusion on this basis is not fully disclosed. The following is its statement in part: "The evidence of the engineers who testified as to the cost to reproduce the property new is to some extent conflicting. We . . . find that the cost to reproduce new the property

... now employed in the public service, . . . is \$170,000,000." From this 20 per cent depreciation is deducted, leaving \$136,000,000. To this is then added the amount remaining in the depreciation reserve of \$7,945,200. ". . . we find the cost to reproduce new . . ., to be the sum of \$143,900,000."

The commission discarded the actual cost method of arriving at a valuation for the rate base, in favor of the "cost to reproduce new." Where complete reliable cost records of construction are available it is hard to understand why the actual cost method should be abandoned in favor of the cost to reproduce new. The cost to reproduce new method was adopted originally only because of incomplete, or the total absence of construction costs records, in making valuations. This method has been found to lend itself admirably to the claim for intangibles, with which so many valuations have been adorned. Another favorite expedient has been recently to have reproduction cost valuations made during the period of high costs, with prices as of that date, or an average extending through the peak of high prices.

For the greater portion of the property in question, the records of the board of supervising engineers are believed to be fairly complete and reliable.

SECURITIES AND TAX VALUES

The commission discusses the amount and market value of outstanding bonds and stocks; also taxation values for rate-making purposes. These factors give no weight in determining values.

GOING VALUE ALLOWED

Under "going value" the commission allows the amount of \$20,000,000 to add to the rate base.

"PRESENT VALUE FOR RATE-MAKING PURPOSES"

Under this formula the commission uses \$143,500,000 (the depreciated value, to which is added the depreciation reserve) plus \$20,000,000 of going value, together giving \$163,500,000. After making certain deductions, it reaches the conclusion that the value of the property January 31, 1919, ". . . is at least \$157,164,908." This is some \$500,000 less than the company claimed for the capital account on this date. To bring values up to April 30, 1920, an addition of \$1,948,206 is then made, giving a total of \$159,113,114. This is the amount the commission claims as the proper value for rate-making purposes.

WORKING CAPITAL INCLUDED

In the table of valuations presented, and published by the commission, the item of working capital is given under various assumptions at from \$1,897,951 to \$2,060,128.

As before stated, the data available for review is too limited and the scope of this article not sufficient to admit of a review of all of the important elements of the case. Working capital and going value allowances deserve some attention when allowed as a part of the *value* of a rate case of this kind.

THE EQUITY OF WORKING CAPITAL

The need for working capital in the conduct of a business or service arises when expense is incurred for labor and material in production, and time elapses before bills are collected for the product or service. Examples of this kind are water, gas, electric, and telephone services, where the service is metered and bills rendered and collected after the service has been furnished. Under such conditions the

average period between the time the expense is incurred and the collection of the bills would be from two to six weeks, and of necessity capital or cash is required to carry the expense during the interval. On the other hand, urban transportation is a cash business. The service is paid for before it is rendered. Where tickets are sold money may be collected several days or weeks ahead of the time service is furnished. At the end of any day money has been collected fully to pay for all labor and material employed. It is not easily understandable why this \$1,943,727 should be injected into the rate base and the car riders obliged to pay returns thereon.

It may be necessary in order that no violence should be done to the fourteenth amendment to the United States constitution. It really looks like obtaining money, from the car riders, under false pretenses.

EQUITY OF GOING VALUE

It is not quite clear why going value for a transportation enterprise should be capitalized against the car rider. In a manufacturing or mercantile business a prospective purchaser of the business might very well consider paying something, in the nature of going value, for a business well established and prosperous, over and above the bare physical value of the property. One would not suppose the incentive to be on the basis of the new owner expecting to charge more for the product than the previous owners, but rather on the basis of his being able to go ahead and do business with less expense and consequently more profits than if he started in to build up a new business.

According to the theory of regulation, it is to be assumed that the rates have been high enough to take care of operating costs, fair rates of return

on the investment and to provide adequate maintenance and depreciation funds. In building up the investment base of the *cost to reproduce new, liberal allowances were made for such contingencies as might be necessary to make the property "a going concern."* In the "summary of evidence on cost of reproduction new" tabulation, the following items are given in the companies' claims for value:

Expenditures not apparent in inventorying.....	\$3,525,823
Frontage consents.....	1,049,299
Administration, organization and legal expense.....	3,382,927
Taxes during construction.....	1,786,751
Interest during construction.....	7,582,112
Working capital.....	1,943,727
Total.....	\$19,270,639

In the actual creation of a transportation property many of the charges just listed are actually taken care of through operating expense which the riding public pays for. Others exist partly at least in the realm of imagination.

The foregoing list shows an item, in the companies' claims, of \$1,786,751 (a little over 1 per cent of new cost value allowed by the commission) for taxes during construction. An examination of a number of the annual reports of the board of supervising engineers discloses no mention of taxes during construction being included in the items of the capital account. It is the general impression that the "capital account" of the ordinance contract has received at least liberal treatment in the interests of the companies.

Because a transportation concern is well organized and prosperous is no reason why the traveling public should be penalized and taxed extra fare on account of its prosperity. If honest and efficient regulation of a transportation company were possible, excessive

earnings and dividends should never be allowed to the company, but any such excess should go towards the amortization of the investment. As pointed out in the previous article, one of the Chicago companies collected enough to pay, on an average, over 44 per cent in annual dividends for quite a period of years. Nevertheless, capital accounts and valuations are rarely if ever being reduced but generally padded with fictitious "intangibles."

RATE OF RETURN

The contract with the city limited the companies to a return of 5 per cent on their capital account. Any income above this was considered net profit which the city and company both shared; 55 per cent going to the city, the companies retaining 45 per cent. The capital account covered everything the companies were entitled to lay claim to and in fact much more. The commission specified a rate of return of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. As previously shown, by using war prices, including working capital, going value and other items, they built up the valuation to practically the equivalent of the capital account of the companies called for in their contract with the city, and on which they claimed to be entitled to returns.

The items of "working capital" and "going value" amounting to \$21,943,727, on which the commission allowed a return of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, imposes an annual burden on the car riders of \$1,644,780, or an average of 61 cents per year for every man, woman and child in Chicago.

If on the other hand the original decision of April 25, 1919, had been allowed to stand and the capital account reduced by \$45,000,000 and the rate of return left at 5 per cent, the car riders would have been saved the

difference between \$159,113,115 at 7.5 per cent and \$114,650,000 at 5 per cent, amounting to \$6,200,983, or over \$2.29 per capita per year. Possibly the situation is covered by the plea of a street railway president in the middle west recently who contended that the car riders would only spend their pennies foolishly anyway and therefore the company might just as well collect them.

If not allowed to question the findings of value, we may be permitted to object to paying 7.5 per cent per annum on a business where the state steps in and undertakes to guarantee the returns. The hazards of the business seem to have disappeared. The state authorities claim the city was never expressly given the right to make ordinance contract rates. It was, however, fully believed to be a right and was exercised for many years in good faith.

The commission also assumed jurisdiction over the regulation of service. The service has probably never been worse at any time than it has been under state control and increased rates of fare.

THE REAL INVESTOR AND HIGH FINANCE PROFITS

As pointed out in the previous article, it is the bondholders for these properties that are in a precarious position, not through any fault of the car riders but because of high finance in traction management.

The state commission might very well have shown concern for the bondholders and if necessary invited receiverships, so that funds could be conserved for bond liquidation.

The reports of the board of supervising engineers show that for the year ending January 31, 1921, the cost for "conducting transportation" had increased 88 per cent, while the "re-

maining net receipts" increased 458 per cent, over those for the year ending January 31, 1919 (the last full year under the five cent fare).

On the presumption of *no real equity above* the outstanding bonds, it can hardly be claimed that the \$696,755

net receipts of January 31, 1919, were *less than they should have been*. They were increased in two years from \$696,755 to \$3,887,969, or 458 per cent. It appears that the victims (?) of the strike of July, 1919, have prospered under state regulation.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1922

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THE Noes have it again. As usual, a majority of the measures submitted to the people were voted down during 1922 to the tune of 100 to 66. Although the recommendations of state legislatures in regard to matters of constitutional concern were more often approved than were any other class of measures, even here the mortality approached fifty per cent.

Of the forty times that legislative action was questioned by referendum petitions, in thirty was the measure vetoed by popular action. On three quarters of the occasions that sufficient apprehension was aroused in any portion of the public to cause them to reach for the emergency brake, that brake was applied. Nevertheless, unless the output of our assemblies has diminished considerably since 1905—and such is not the case—the referendum must still be considered in the light of an emergency appliance. Thirty vetoes upon thirteen thousand

measures warrant no other appellation. The referendum, 'tis true, is confined to twenty-two states, but, even so, the percentage must be exceedingly small.

Although forty-two measures were proposed by the initiative, only six passed. It is interesting to note that of these six, four were in California. Two established medical examining boards, osteopathic and chiropractic; one outlined the budget procedure and established a system of itemized revenues and expenditures; and the other favored state aid to veterans of the World War in the acquiring of farms and homes. The automobilists in Colorado were evidently disturbed over the condition of the roads, for the state voted a \$6,000,000 bond issue upon popular initiative. In Washington the poll tax was abolished.

The following table sums up the situation.

Grand Total	174	Yes 66	No 100 ¹
Constitutional Referendum	92	50	42
Initiative measure	42	6	28
Referendum	40	10	30

¹ Figures on the educational reorganization of Arizona, the Oregon proposals, and the game law of Arizona are not available.

CHARACTER OF THE MEASURES

Of the one hundred and sixty-six measures from which returns have been secured, over one-half (86) dealt with matters which were distinctly political, *i.e.* measures relating either to administrative organization or to reform in methods of popular control. One quarter (43) dealt with public finance, a matter which could with some justice be placed under the category political, but which because of its far-reaching social and industrial consequences has been singled out for separate consideration. Twenty-five of the measures dealt with social problems, and twelve with economic and industrial.

The political measures were principally of seven types, those containing suggestions as to administrative reorganization, those increasing local autonomy, those reapportioning representation, those dealing with terms of office, and those increasing the pay of government officials. Attempts were also made to improve election machinery. In several states there were proposals for constitutional conventions.

In general, proposals for radical reorganization were voted down. This was the case in both Arizona and Missouri. Patchwork reorganization was generally approved. Measures of this character ranged from the establishment of additional examining boards in California to increasing the power of port authorities in Louisiana and Michigan.

The trend of the times is still toward increased local autonomy and increased local power. This was evidenced not only in the Pennsylvania home rule amendment, but in the defeat of all attempts to increase legislative power over localities. The fate of the suggestion in South Dakota that the legislature be allowed to change county

lines without reference to the inhabitants thereof was typical.

Another characteristic of the period is economy, clearly indicated in the defeat of all attempts to increase the pay of public officials, and the attempts were numerous.

Wherever the matter was submitted to vote, as it was in Nebraska and Washington, assaults upon the direct primary were repelled. In fact, all attempts to infringe upon the principle of direct government either by raising the number of signatures required for initiative, as in California and South Dakota, or in the application of a literacy test, as in Washington, were voted down. In three states, Colorado, Illinois, and Virginia, the proposition of calling a constitutional convention was voted down.

FINANCE MEASURES

Finance measures fall into four general categories: taxation, bond issues, tax limits, and debt limits. Practically all measures of tax reform were defeated, whether they were measures of classification as in California and Utah, or of income as in Colorado and Michigan, or the single tax as in California and Oregon. The poll tax was repealed in Washington, but this is about the only straw of hope the ballots hold out, and this, in the opinion of some, was offset by the passage in Alabama and California of special tax exemptions for service men.

Bonds were issued last year for three purposes, road building, internal improvements, and soldiers' bonuses. Measures in favor of the latter were passed in California, Iowa and Montana. A further proposal was defeated in California, and in Oklahoma the major bonus proposal went down to defeat. In Alabama, Colorado, and New Jersey, bonds were issued for road building purposes. In Arizona

an initiative proposal of this character was voted down. In Alabama \$10,000,000 were voted for internal improvements, but the \$500,000,000 proposal in California was more than the voters could stomach.

Both tax limitation and debt limitation measures fared ill at the election. The Ohio tax proposal failed, although one in Alabama carried. Efforts to increase the debt limits of Arizona, Utah and Wisconsin accomplished nothing.

SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Of the twenty-five attempts to solve social problems, large numbers dealt with matters of education. These ranged in character from proposals to reorganize country school systems to an attempt to change the location of the University of Colorado. Most of the suggestions were not accepted. Perhaps the most interesting was the compulsory education bill of Oregon. All children of school age, with certain exceptions, were compelled to go to the *public* schools of the state. Despite the opposition of Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists, Roman Catholics, independents and private school interests, the measure passed.

Three states had referenda upon prohibition. There was, also, an expression of public opinion in Illinois. In the three states that voted upon concrete measures, prohibition won the day. Two out of the three states voted dry and in the total vote of the three states, the dries led by more than 100,000. If the figures for Illinois, where the Anti-Saloon League leaders advised the dries to refrain from voting and so prevented a real test of strength, —if the figures of Illinois are added, the lead falls to the wets.

The anti-vivisection forces were overwhelmingly defeated as were also the proponents of motion-picture cen-

sorship. In fact, most of the proposed social reforms were disapproved.

With the exception of two propositions recommended by the legislatures of Minnesota and Nebraska respectively all propositions in regard to industrial matters, whether concerned with the regulation of public utilities, or the embarkation upon programs of state ownership, failed. The two measures in the field which met the approval of the voters were the Minnesota measure extending state credit to farmers and the Nebraska act prohibiting the establishment of all banks unable to obtain a certificate of necessity from the state banking board.

HOW THE MEASURES GOT ON THE BALLOTS

It is interesting to note the means by which these various types were placed on the ballots. Fifty-six of the political proposals were constitutional referenda; twenty-one were legislative proposals questioned by the voters, and only nine were initiative measures. Fifty-three were vetoed; twenty-nine of the fifty-six constitutional referenda suffered this fate; eighteen of the twenty-one referenda proposals, and six of initiative measures. The great majority of the financial proposals were also on the ballot because of constitutional mandate. Twenty-eight, five and ten are the numbers which must be attributed to the constitutional requirement, the referenda, and the initiative respectively. It is interesting to note that almost one fourth of these measures were placed on the ballot through the initiative; of these only one carried. Of those placed on the ballot by the referenda, only one was lost; and in twenty of the twenty-eight cases of constitutional amendment, the recommendation of the legislature was followed.

A much smaller proportion of meas-

TABLE SHOWING MEANS BY WHICH MEASURES WERE PLACED ON BALLOT

Character	Means			Decision			Means			Decision			Means			Decision		
	Constitutional			Yes			Referendum			Yes			Initiative			Yes		
Political.....	56	27	29				21	3	18				9	3	6			
Financial.....	28	20	8				5	4	1				10	1	9			
Social.....	6	3	3				10	1	9				8	1	7			
Industrial.....	2	1	1				2	1	1				7	0	7			

ures dealing with matters of social import were placed on the ballot because of constitutional compulsion. Only six times was this the reason. Ten propositions were on the ballot because of the referenda, and eight because of the initiative. Here also only one measure proposed by the initiative was passed. Nine out of the ten referendum measures, however, were defeated, and there was an even division upon those submitted because of constitutional mandate. Three were passed; three failed to pass. Of the measures dealing with industrial problems, seven were brought forward through the initiative. Not one of them passed. Two measures were placed on the ballots through the referenda. In the case of one the legislature was upheld, in the case of the other, its action was overridden. An identical situation existed in reference to constitutional measures.

THE TASK BEFORE THE VOTER

Something of the task which confronts the voter can be seen from the nature of the measures. He is called upon to decide all matters from the expenditure of \$500,000,000 for the development of water power and electricity within the state of California to fixing the debt limit for school district number ten, Cherokee county, South Carolina. The question of public versus parochial schools is submitted to him for decision in Oregon, and in California the wisdom of a school district in more than one county.

But it is not alone the demand upon

the versatility of the voter which is subject to criticism, but the demand upon his time as well. The number of proposals placed before the voter in 1922 averaged five. This in itself is a considerable lengthening of the ballot, and makes a demand upon the voter's time it does not always secure. Unfortunately, the average number of proposals upon the ballot was not the maximum. In Oregon, South Dakota and Washington nine measures were up for consideration; in Colorado, ten; in Arizona, eleven, and in South Carolina, thirteen. Missouri and California exceeded even this. In Missouri nineteen propositions were voted upon. Some consideration should be given here, and also in Arizona, to the fact that a certain number of these dealt with one subject, state reorganization. In California no extenuating circumstances can be brought forward to excuse the thirty varied proposals that occupied the ballot. Thirty measures, and one hundred and forty-four pages of explanation, double columned and finely typed, were thrust upon the voters.

To what extent the referenda, to what extent the initiative, and to what extent constitutional mandate are responsible for the long ballot, the table on page 196 indicates.

THE LONG BALLOT

Critics of the system will wave in the air the California bulletin of information, 144 pages, double columned, finely typed, and ask how much time the voter allots to each measure. Skeptics will point to the Missouri

bulletin of information, five feet by three, a mass of finely printed statute, and reiterate the question. *A priori* the situation looks pretty bad. It is only fair, however, to compare the still experimental device of popular

sion, when measures are being acted upon at the rate of one or two per minute, is an interesting question.

It may be suggested that the member of the legislature who votes so hastily follows party decisions and his party accepts the responsibility. Without going into an analysis of the meaning of party responsibility in a legislative body, it is not irrelevant to ask why the rank and file cannot with just as much grace follow the mandate of their leaders at the polls. There seems to be some inconsistency in the statement that although the party assumes responsibility for its decisions upon proposed measures when they come up in a legislative body, yet it may refuse to do so when they are referred to popular decision. Of course the party may assume such an attitude, but in so doing it confesses it is not the responsible agency it has claimed to be.

However, no brief need be held for a system which merely passes on to the ballot box a problem which has been disturbing many of our state legislatures these many years, namely, how to give full consideration to an overwhelming mass of business. Some method of eliminating the trivial and local from the ballot must be found. Just what the voters all over South Carolina know about the debt limit of Christ Church and the changes that should be made therein is difficult to see. Can the voters of New York be blamed for defeating an amendment of the following character, which was submitted with little or no comment? Changes are in italics.

TABLE OF MEASURES PLACED ON BALLOT

	By			
	Constitutional	Referendum	Initiative	Total
	Mandate			
Alabama.....	4			4
Arizona.....	8	1	2	11
Arkansas.....	1		2	3
California.....	14	5	11	30
Colorado.....	5		5	10
Florida.....	4			4
Georgia.....	4			4
Iowa.....		1		1
Louisiana.....	4			4
Maine.....		1		1
Maryland.....	5			5
Massachusetts....		5		5
Michigan.....	3			3
Minnesota.....	2			2
Missouri.....	3	14	2	19
Montana.....	2	1	1	4
Nebraska.....		4		4
Nevada.....	2	1	1	4
New Jersey.....		1		1
New York.....	2			2
North Carolina....	1			1
Ohio.....			3	3
Oklahoma.....			1	1
Oregon.....	2		7	9
Pennsylvania.....	1			1
South Carolina....	13			13
South Dakota.....	4		5	9
Utah.....	3			3
Virginia.....		1		1
Washington.....	3	4	2	9
Wisconsin.....	3			3
UNITED STATES..	93	39	42	174

referendum with the older institution of representative government. Just how much less consideration is given by the voters of California to the thirty measures before them than is given by members of the New York legislature during the closing days of a ses-

All cities are classified according to the latest state enumeration, as from time to time made, as follows: The first class includes all cities having a population of one hundred and seventy-five thousand or more; the second class, all cities having a population of fifty thousand and less than one hundred and seventy-five thousand; the third class, all other cities. Laws relating

to the property, affairs or government of cities, and the several departments thereof, are divided into general and special city laws; general city laws are those which relate to all the cities of one or more classes; special city laws are those which relate to a single city, or to less than all the cities of a class. Special city laws shall not be passed except in conformity with the provisions of this section. After any bill for a special city law, relating to a city, has been passed by both branches of the legislature, the house in which it originated shall immediately transmit a certified copy thereof to the mayor of such city, and within fifteen days thereafter the mayor shall return such bill to the *clerk of the house* from which it was sent, [or] *who* if the session of the legislature at which such bill was passed has terminated, *shall immediately transmit the same* to the governor, with the mayor's certificate thereon, stating whether the city has or has not accepted the same. In every city of the first class, the mayor, and in every other city, the mayor and the legislative body thereof concurrently, shall act for such city as to such bill; but the legislature may provide for the concurrence of the legislative body in cities of the first class. The legislature shall provide for a public notice and opportunity for a public hearing concerning any such bill in every city to which it relates, before action thereon. Such a bill, if it relates to more than one city, shall be transmitted to the mayor of each city to which it relates, and shall not be deemed accepted unless accepted as herein provided, by every such city. Whenever any such bill is accepted as herein provided, it shall be subject as are other bills, to the action of the governor. Whenever, during the session at which it was passed, any such bill is returned without the acceptance of the city or cities to which it relates, or within such fifteen days is not returned, it may nevertheless again be passed by both branches of the legislature, and it shall then be subject as are other bills, to the action of the governor. In every special city law which has been accepted by the city or cities to which it relates, the title shall be followed by the words "accepted by the city," or "cities," as the case may be, in every such law which is passed without such acceptance, by the words "passed without the acceptance of the city," or "cities," as the case may be.

How many political scientists who have read the amendment know what

the changes are about? From technicalities of this sort and trivialities of the South Carolina variety the voter must be delivered before a rational system can be attained.

THE VOTE CAST

One measure of the value of the system is the interest it arouses. A comparison of the vote upon measures with that upon the leading candidate gives some indication of its success. It varied from state to state and from measure to measure. The average the country over in 1922 was 61 per cent. It was as low as 25 per cent in South Carolina and as high as 100 per cent in Ohio. The average vote on those measures which were referred to the voters because of constitutional mandate was only 55 per cent, on those which were referred because of referendum petition 69 per cent and on those which were placed upon the ballot by popular initiative a similar percentage.

There exists a decided variation of interest between states. In South Carolina the average vote was 28 per cent; both Iowa and Oklahoma, where the question was the soldiers' bonus, the vote was 94 per cent. In Michigan where this particular issue was not involved, over 88 per cent of those who voted for the governor voted on the measure proposed. It is a striking thing that the middle west exhibited at least twenty per cent greater interest in the measures before it than did any other section of the country. This may be explained by the fact that the measures which were before the voters there, with the exception of Missouri, were fairly reasonable in number. Especially was there a contrast in this latter respect with the far west. It does not, however, explain the contrast with the east. Nor can this be entirely accounted for upon the nature of the

measures proposed. Measures which on their face, at least, made just as little emotional appeal received a higher vote in the middle west than they did in the east.

The character of the measures, however, did play an important part. There was an exceedingly great variation within certain states in which measures of various types were presented. Especially was this true in California. There the vote ranged from 31 per cent to 82 per cent of the vote cast for governor. This variation especially existed in those states in which the questions of prohibition or the bonus were voted upon. In fact, the slight correlation that existed between the length of the ballot and the size of the vote was destroyed by these two questions.

The writer is perhaps entering dangerous ground when he attempts a comparison between the interest indicated by a vote cast at the polls and the interest that is shown by the percentage of those present upon roll-call in a legislative body. In the first place the percentages are not comparable; the one is measured not against perfection, but merely against the vote cast for the leading candidate; the other is measured against a potentially perfect attendance in the legislature. In the second place, the system of pairing upsets the comparison so far as congress is concerned, although to a very much less degree in state legislatures; to those who accept the doctrine of party responsibility, and most of us in some degree or other, do. In the third place, there is greater likelihood that a member of the legislature, although not in attendance upon a roll-call, will be about his constituents' business, than there is that the average voter will be engaged on public affairs. With all these qualifications, we timidly venture to state

the fact that the average vote in congress and in the lower houses of both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts during a period investigated was 66 per cent. The average vote on referendum measures last year, it will be recalled, was 61 per cent; the average vote on initiative measures was 69 per cent.

EVALUATION OF THE VOTER'S WORK

How well has the voter performed his task? To evaluate the decisions is of necessity a subjective matter, one which the student unaware of the details of local situations must approach with trepidation. Some judgment, however, can be rendered.

Most difficult of all to appraise are the measures of governmental reorganization. The defeat in both Arizona and Missouri of extended programs of administrative reorganization is a matter of regret, as is also the extension of the principle of Jacksonian democracy in Louisiana, where the superintendent of schools was made elective. The partial reorganization which the voters approved elsewhere was in all probability desirable. At least the situation is no worse in this particular than if no referendum existed. In furthering the cause of home rule and preventing legislative interference in local affairs the popular referenda did noble service. Whether it did like service in defeating all measures increasing the pay of state officials is a moot question. In general the attitude of the electorate in defeating all measures tending to emasculate either the direct primaries or the initiative and referendum is to be commended.

In matters of taxation no such commendation is possible. With the exception of the repeal of the poll tax in Washington, and the establishment of a mining tax in Minnesota, most of the decisions on taxation measures

were reactionary. The income tax was defeated in Colorado, Michigan and Oregon. Classification and the lower taxation of intangibles (which modern economists hold to be the only possible taxation of intangibles) was defeated in California, Colorado and Utah. The defeat of a single tax measure and proposals to tax publicly owned utilities may be thought somewhat to offset these reverses, but not very much. In matters of taxation the voters are evidently considerably behind the legislatures.

Bond issues, both for road building and for bonuses were quite generally approved. Commendation or condemnation will be rendered according to the personal reaction of the reader. The defeat of the \$500,000,000 water power proposition in California was approved by the Civic League of San Francisco. Here, too, final judgment will be rendered according to the personal reaction of the reader toward state ownership.

The refusal of the voters generally to increase the debt limits is certainly praiseworthy, but the fact that the Ohio voters refused to insert in the state constitution a tax limit cannot be commended, since this action was only incidental to the defeat of the classification law.

To pass on matters of education reorganization without knowing the local situation is impossible. In the

matters of prohibition and anti-vivisection the voters were on the whole more rational than emotional. In fact, in the field of social legislation generally, the popular decisions are to be commended. A similar verdict can be rendered of their actions in the field of industry, with two exceptions. In Missouri the defeat of the principle of workmen's compensation does not warrant praise, nor does the Nebraska anti-picketing bill. Some question also arises as to the wisdom of creating a banking monopoly, or the potentialities of one, in Nebraska. This, however, is subject to dispute.

CONCLUSION

The practice of popular referendum in the United States as evidenced by last year's happenings presents, then, the problem of devising a system whereby technicalities beyond the capacity of the voter can be eliminated, and trivialities can be dispensed with. Three fifths of those sufficiently interested to vote at all voted upon referred measures, and upon the more important ones the vote was very much higher. Although during the past year the action of the voters in the field of taxation was probably unwise, their decisions in the other phases of the field of finance and in matters pertaining to other walks of life were on the whole sound.

TABLE OF VOTES ON INITIAL AND REFERRED MEASURES, 1922
VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

STATE AND SUBJECT	YES	NO	VOTE FOR GOVERNOR	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE FOR GOVERNOR
<i>Alabama</i>				
Permitting the legislature to expend \$10,000,000 on internal improvements	99,853	21,147	160,634	75
Fixing the taxing powers of certain municipal corporations at one per cent per annum	86,854	19,781		62½
Permitting a road bond issue of \$25,000,000 maximum, provided interest does not exceed income of state from vehicle license taxes of preceding year; at least one-fourth million dollars to be expended in each county	111,524	22,918		85
Exempting veterans of World War from poll tax	113,384	17,488		82
<i>Arizona</i>				
To amend the constitution so that all revenues of every kind collected for state purposes shall be paid into state treasury; to increase debt limit of the state after assent by qualified real property owners	12,033	24,422	67,809	54
Act relative to nomination of candidates for office	7,774	26,302		51
Act relative to general elections	7,487	25,602		49
Act relative to reorganization of county offices	7,796	25,322		49
Act relative to reorganization of executive offices	6,988	25,710		47
Act relative to terms of legislative officers	7,292	25,659		49
Act forbidding any member of legislature to be appointed to any civil office of profit, which has been created or the emoluments increased during his term	6,899	25,095		47
Combines of producers permitted	13,848	20,559		49
<i>Arkansas</i>				
Providing that all personal property located within any improvement district be subject to assessment and taxation to pay the cost of improvement	28,813	71,811	127,972	76½
<i>California</i>				
Authorizing the legislature to classify counties for the purpose of regulating title insurance	97,923	219,939	960,631	33
Extending tax exemption to the amount of \$1,000 to veterans who have been released from active duty	181,167	209,754		41
No incorporated city or town may be consolidated to or annexed by another city save with its own consent	205,261	115,274		33
Allows creation of boroughs by amendment to existing charters, but provides that no change shall be made thereafter without borough's consent	172,444	123,960		31
Permits increase in judge's pay	161,073	186,229		36
Authorizes taxation upon notes, shares of stock, etc., different from other property and in lieu of general property tax	117,663	199,078		33
Increases taxation of public utilities and allows the legislature to classify the same	101,569	205,404		32
Authorizes state or any political subdivision thereof to provide itself with water, electricity, etc., by utilizing and controlling streams within or without the state	144,114	186,512		33
Authorizes two or more municipalities to engage in supplying their inhabitants with light, water, power, heat, transportation, telephone service, etc., subject to approval of two-thirds of the voters in each city if bonded indebtedness is incurred	159,827	167,969		33
Prohibition of special legislation in regard to irrigation districts, etc.	108,970	212,291		33
Absent voters law for military men	174,026	192,832		38
Allows municipalities to place money outside of state in order to pay interest on their bonds	180,367	132,544		34
Judges pro tem elected by contending parties must also receive the consent of the superior court	168,043	137,997		32
Permits formation of school districts situated in two or more counties	200,511	115,556		33
<i>Colorado</i>				
Relative to the inclusion of University extension work and the University generally in the state system of public education . .	87,282	58,315	269,210	54
Reorganization of county government	37,945	105,782		53
Changes in term of governor, etc.	40,081	100,367		52
Changes in law relative to aliens	43,094	95,219		51
<i>Florida</i>			(Sen.) 51,964	
Educational amendment	31,952	9,804		80
Reorganization of judiciary	21,631	11,222		65
Relative to time of payment of salaries	26,731	7,766		67
Relative to number of members of senate and house of representatives	14,369	19,771		66

VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—(Continued)

STATE AND SUBJECT	YES	NO	VOTE FOR GOVERNOR	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE FOR GOVERNOR
<i>Georgia</i>				
Creating new senatorial district.....	24,964	27,080	75,019	68
Fixing salary of judge of superior court of Augusta circuit...	28,737	23,028		63
Creating Peach county.....	29,842	36,566		82
Additional compensation to judges of Muscogee circuit.....	24,868	26,575		62
<i>Louisiana</i>				
The legislature may postpone the collection of taxes in case of public calamity.....	20,180	8,355		
Giving board of commissioners of the Port of New Orleans power to lease certain lands.....	21,497	7,251		
Making state superintendent of schools elective.....	17,193	14,822		
Conferring additional powers relative to levees.....	21,230	7,711		
<i>Maryland</i>				
Increase in number of legislative districts in Baltimore.....	106,577	80,413	246,907	76
Increasing the representation of Baltimore.....	100,004	77,761		72
Fixing term of Comptroller and Treasurer.....	97,308	75,359		70
Quadrennial elections.....	108,458	72,562		73
Equal rights for women.....	98,901	77,374		71
<i>Michigan</i>				
Excess condemnation allowed to cities upon authorization of legislature.....	204,564	276,302	583,660	83
Income tax graduated to 4 per cent allowed.....	180,176	320,369		86
Authorizing legislature to create port authority.....	321,543	230,060		94½
<i>Minnesota</i>				
State credit to agriculture.....	534,310	73,917	685,095	88
Tax on mining and apportionment of proceeds.....	474,697	91,011		82
<i>Missouri</i>				
Increasing pay of members of general assembly.....	235,045	454,020	968,273	71
Striking out the word "male" in the voting qualification....	383,499	299,404		70½
Proposing that vehicle tax be used for road maintenance....	484,884	233,379		74
<i>Montana</i>				
Making state board of equalization supervisory over county boards of equalization.....	65,279	52,536	158,737	74
Permitting legislature to pass special legislation for cities....	67,249	50,178		74
<i>Nevada</i>				
Preventing the legislature passing certain types of special legislation.....	11,157	5,392	28,652	57
Placing appointment to the succession of any member of the legislature in case of death, etc., in hands of county committee, who must pick man of the same party.....	12,756	4,120	810,518	59½
<i>New York</i>				
Technical bill regarding the return of special city bills to legislature.....	819,628	554,654	2,531,391	54
Increasing salaries in court of appeals.....	572,502	891,980		61
<i>North Carolina</i>				
Increasing pay for legislators, etc.....	72,297	138,765	366,795	58
<i>Oregon</i>				
Permitting Linn county tax levy to pay outstanding warrants	(Final Returns Unavailable)		232,547	
Permitting Linn and Benton counties to pay outstanding warrants.....				
<i>Pennsylvania</i>				
Home Rule Amendment.....	377,298	244,808	1,464,102	42½
<i>South Carolina</i>				
Enabling town of Greer to assess abutting property for permanent improvements.....	7,155	2,149	34,065	27
Empowering general assembly to regulate printing for the state	7,382	2,146		27
Special provision relative to bonded debt of Due West school district.....	7,085	2,115		27
Exemption of Beaufort from Sec. 5, Art. 10, of constitution..	6,862	2,169		27
Proviso as to county of Beaufort in relation to bonded debt..	6,774	2,120		27
Empowering county authorities to assess abutting property for permanent improvement of highways.....	6,793	2,257		27

VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—(Continued)

STATE AND SUBJECT	YES	NO	VOTE FOR GOVERNOR	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE FOR GOVERNOR
<i>South Carolina—Continued</i>				
Amendment relative to Christ Church debt limit.	6,608	2,137		25½
Amendment relative to School District 10, Cherokee county debt.	6,706	2,272		27
Amendment relative to Florence school district.	6,632	2,078		25
Amendment relative to Georgetown debt.	6,619	2,108		25½
Amendment relative to formation of certain school districts in Picken county.	6,713	2,167		25½
Exemption of Spartanburg from Sec. 7, Art. 8 of constitution	6,647	2,252		26
Exemption of Union from Sec. 1, Art. 8 of constitution.	6,589	2,178		25
<i>South Dakota</i>				
Permitting legislature by two-thirds vote of each house to fix salaries.	38,171	107,846	175,840	83
Increasing petition signatures needed for initiative.	48,662	95,323		82
Allowing legislature to change county lines without reference to inhabitants.	29,801	111,833		81
Permitting special assessments for the erection of levees, etc.	33,537	103,837		78
<i>Utah</i>				
Increasing debt limit of state.	3,837	68,824	120,812	59
Allowing classification of property for taxing purposes.	16,378	57,380		61
Increasing compensation of members of legislature.	5,303	65,346		59
<i>Washington</i>				
Trial of person committing crime on railway to be in county, etc., wherein it took place.	122,911	81,432	292,083	67½
Payments from state appropriations must be made within one month after end of next ensuing calendar year.	94,708	86,734		62½
Compensation of legislators increased.	52,606	161,526		68
<i>Wisconsin</i>				
Allowing sheriffs to succeed themselves.	161,832	207,585	481,442	75
Making verdicts in civil cases valid by five-sixths vote.	171,433	156,759		68
Increasing debt limit of cities to allow them to acquire and operate public utilities.	105,346	219,693		68

VOTES ON MEASURES REFERRED TO THE PEOPLE

STATE AND SUBJECT	YES	NO	VOTE FOR GOVERNOR	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE FOR GOVERNOR
<i>Arizona</i>				
Act relating to the preservation of the Fish and Game Laws, the repeal of a law passed the preceding year. (Ref. ordered by Leg.)	(Final returns Unavailable)		67,809	
<i>California</i>				
Prohibition enforcement act	407,952	378,331	960,631	82
Veteran welfare bond issue, \$10,000,000	371,058	178,984		57
Land settlement bond issue, \$3,000,000	149,083	164,548		34
State housing act	62,876	332,806		41
Prevents unlicensed persons from giving legal advice of any character	165,616	407,291		60
<i>Colorado</i>				
Constitutional Convention proposed	53,015	93,081	269,210	54
<i>Iowa</i>				
Bonus to be paid by bond issue of 22 million dollars	383,335	195,898	617,586	94
<i>Maine</i>				
Providing for full time state highway commission	56,822	60,258	178,969	65
<i>Massachusetts</i>				
Roll calls as legislature desired	333,549	252,111	889,853	66
Provision that voluntary associations may be sued, but individual property exempted	300,260	301,205		66½
Motion picture censorship proposed	208,252	553,173		85
Prohibition enforcement act	323,964	427,840		85
District attorney required to be a bar member	396,623	282,011		76
<i>Missouri</i>				
Act creating state department of budget	267,241	375,676	968,273	66
Conferring powers of state inspector of oils on the supervisor of public welfare	274,530	383,379		68
Conferring powers of state supervisor of beverages on supervisor of public welfare	276,641	365,406		66
Act creating office of supervisor of public welfare and vesting in said office the power of food and drug inspector	262,816	371,812		66
Creating department of agriculture	252,060	378,181		66
Abolishing 38 judicial circuits and the Strugeon court of common pleas and creating 34 new circuits	247,484	394,637		66½
Providing workmen's compensation and creating a commission to administer it	288,384	356,001		67
Creating county school districts	291,157	381,320		67
Abolishing justice of the peace in townships containing city of from 100,000 to 300,000, transferring their business elsewhere	334,288	386,680		74½
Act reorganizing justice of peace courts	232,704	386,663		64
Preventing county courts from appointing additional justices of the peace in townships having not less than 300,000 nor more than 600,000	230,917	386,315		64
Reorganizing office of constable	231,601	382,915		64
Dividing state into 16 congressional districts	327,214	316,522		66½
Creating department of labor	257,987	384,708		66
<i>Montana</i>				
Authorizing \$4,500,000 bonus bond issue	67,473	62,100	158,737	81
<i>Nebraska</i>				
Prohibiting co-operative banking unless founders can prove to the banking board that the bank is necessary	172,675	149,240	395,240	82
Anti-picketing bill	186,101	140,419		82½
Partially repealing direct primary	95,494	208,261		77
Requiring registration and party affiliation of all voters	106,314	195,066		77
<i>Nevada</i>				
Legislative substitute for initiative—divorce proposal	7,606	10,965	28,652	61
<i>New Jersey</i>				
\$40,000,000 bond issue for roads	20,000	majority	815,578	
<i>Virginia</i>				
Question of calling constitutional convention	30,208	81,992	159,296	68
<i>Washington</i>				
Providing for certificates of necessity from the director of public works in cases where competition seeks to enter fields already occupied	64,733	154,907	292,083	86
Parents may forbid examination of children except where contagious disease is indicated	96,845	156,004		75
Literary test and statement of party affiliation	60,580	163,946		77
Pre-primary convention, etc.	57,287	140,166		67

VOTES ON BILLS INITIATED BY POPULAR PETITION

STATE AND SUBJECT	YES	NO	VOTE FOR GOVERNOR	PERCENTAGE OF VOTE FOR GOVERNOR
<i>Arizona</i>				
Permitting a bond issue for building a road.	22,130	24,688	67,809	68
Amending the article of constitution pertaining to education. .				
<i>Arkansas</i>				
Reserving to the people the right of initiative and referendum, independent of the general assembly and the right to approve or reject at the polls any entire act or any item of an appropriation bill.	38,690	61,112	127,972	75
Relative to reorganizing county school systems.	14,383	88,703		81
<i>California</i>				
Permits state aid to veterans of the World War in the acquiring of farms or homes.	434,043	180,639	960,631	65
Publicly owned utilities to be assessed and taxed just like privately owned.	130,906	242,525		39
Publicly owned utilities to be regulated by the State Railroad commission just like any other.	169,846	293,643		48
Budget procedure outlined; itemized expenditures and revenues required.	218,484	103,082		33
Creates chiropractic commission.	372,442	257,248		65
Gives governor power to establish a board; authorizes \$500,000,000 bond issue to develop water and electricity of the state.	210,906	465,163		66
Creates osteopathic board.	330,864	247,972		61
Raises number of signatures necessary for the initiation of tax measures.	203,815	255,534		48
Prohibits vivisection.	108,051	292,944		42
Single tax.	105,362	373,751		50
Gives R. R. commission power to grant franchises and extend same in cities and outlying districts.	80,433	253,724		34
<i>Colorado</i>				
Authorized \$6,000,000 bond issue for roads.	131,271	66,536	269,210	73
Utilities commission created regulating all except municipally owned utilities.	75,061	107,655		67
Act to reapportion representation.	61,502	101,537		60
Exempting intangibles from general property tax—levying graduated income tax.	42,466	120,355		60
Anti-vivisection.	35,476	178,120		80
<i>Missouri</i>				
Abolishing common law rules of fellow workmen, contributory negligence, and placing responsibility on employer.	141,149	561,832	968,273	72½
Reapportionment of senatorial districts.	227,000	379,615		62½
<i>Montana</i>				
Permitting the use of pari-mutuel machines at state fairs. . . .	60,057	66,363	158,737	80
<i>Nevada</i>				
A period of 6 months provided between interlocutory decree and final judgment in divorce cases.	4,876	12,900	28,652	61
<i>Ohio</i>				
Wines and beer amendment.	715,872	904,219	1,625,248	100
Amendment writing debt limitation provisions into the constitution.	496,500	686,337		73
Tax limitation amendment except upon vote of two-thirds majority of people concerned.	473,129	714,929		73
<i>Oklahoma</i>				
Soldier bonus bill.	255,887	234,909	520,562	94
<i>Oregon</i>				
Single tax amendment.			232,547	
Salmon fishing and propagation amendment.	(Final Returns Unavailable)			
Exposition tax amendment.				
Income tax—to support one-half state expenditures.				
Six per cent interest rate established.				
Compulsory education bill—Public Schools.				
Income tax.				
<i>South Dakota</i>				
Authorizing the state to erect and operate hydroelectric plant	54,907	105,620	175,840	91
Abolition of state constabulary.	63,583	93,671		90
Introducing theatricals on Sunday.	56,806	98,925		89
Authorizing the state to engage in banking.	32,881	121,566		89
Changing the location of the University of South Dakota to Sioux Falls.	12,019	137,675		85
<i>Washington</i>				
Repealing poll tax.	193,158	63,448	292,083	85
Providing for current state school fund to produce \$30 for each child to be distributed on basis of attendance and teachers employed, maximum levy 1.7 per cent assessed valuation. .	99,090	150,030		75

ITEMS ON MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING

EDITED BY WILLIAM A. BASSETT

Limiting the Automobile in Down-town Sections.—The need for restricting the use and particularly the parking of pleasure automobiles on those streets within the business sections of cities is being realized more and more. In many cities conditions resulting from this practice constitute serious fire hazards in addition to increasing traffic congestion.

That these conditions materially restrict the operation of street cars and hence work to the disadvantage of the majority of the population dependent upon such facilities has been strikingly demonstrated in the results of a vehicular traffic study made by the traffic department of the United Railways and Electric Company of Baltimore. Results of this study, published in the *Electric Railway Journal*, show that during the evening rush hour, on the down-town streets upon which both street cars and other vehicles operate, the automobiles represented 73 per cent of the total movements and the street cars only 27 per cent, whereas the street cars accommodated 88.8 per cent of the total passengers and the automobiles only 11.2 per cent. This corresponds on the basis of traffic movement to an efficiency more than twenty times as great for the electric car as for the automobile.

The evil of the automobile as a wasteful occupier of space is not limited to moving cars. The parked car constitutes a still more serious obstacle to traffic movement. Parking within street limits represents practically free storage of automobiles and grants a special privilege in the matter of the use of public property to a limited class without exacting suitable compensation. Unquestionably the greatest evil in the situation lies from the parking of automobiles by business men who drive their own cars to their offices or stores and leave them parked all day.

In Baltimore the street railway company has resorted to rerouting its lines in an effort to distribute car service better and relieve congestion. If results are to be accomplished, however, it will be necessary to exercise far more drastic regulation over the use of automobiles in the down-town section than exists at present in that city. New York city has been considering

restricting pleasure automobiles to above Fourteenth Street in Manhattan.

The Regulation of Gasoline Dispensing Stations.—Providing for the location of gasoline dispensing stations while at the same time safeguarding the community from the hazard incidental to the maintenance of these facilities and preventing undue congestion from automobiles parked for the purpose of purchasing this commodity, constitute one of the most vexatious problems confronting city governments in the matter of regulating the use of the public streets. An inquiry into the practice followed by different communities in handling this problem conducted by the commission of publicity and efficiency of Toledo, Ohio, disclosed a wide variation in these matters. The main consideration has been whether or not to permit the location of gasoline pumps at the curb line. Curb stations have been attacked through two channels. Through the zoning ordinances with the aim of protecting property values and on account of their tendency to increase traffic congestion. In most cities having zoning ordinances, the disposition has been to exclude curb stations from residential districts while permitting a limited number in the business districts.

One point that does not seem to have received the recognition that it deserves where curb stations are permitted is the hazard from storing gasoline either beneath the sidewalk or directly adjacent to the public highway. This condition and the obstruction to traffic that results from automobiles parked adjacent to these facilities are strong arguments against permitting their continuance. The best practices all tend toward requiring gasoline filling stations to be located entirely on private property. Naturally the tremendous public need for adequate facilities of this character demands that suitable provision be made to meet this need and the result has been the drive-in station. In some cities even the latter are prohibited in residential districts, their establishment being permitted only in the minor commercial zone at important intersections.

There is a commendable trend towards requiring the approval of the design of building and layout of gasoline stations by planning commissions or other divisions of the city government before permitting their construction in order to insure suitable architectural treatment.

While progress has been made along the line of regulating the location of gas filling stations, in comparatively few cases is the fee charged for permit to operate these facilities adequate. Fees for curb stations should be on an annual basis and predicated on the value of the public space used. Moreover, it is desirable that such fee should be high enough to discourage the use of such stations. The same principle should apply in the case of storage tanks for gasoline with the additional qualification that the amount charged should be ample to cover the cost of effective inspection and regulation.



Regulation of Motor Vehicle Operation in Akron, Ohio.—Regulations designed to effect the elimination of fly-by-night motor bus and taxicab operators, together with furnishing regular busmen an improved field for operation, while also protecting the public, constitute the main features of an ordinance recently enacted by the city council of Akron, Ohio. The dominating feature of the ordinance relates to the classification of motor vehicles for insurance purposes and the methods permitted for securing indemnity insurance.

According to a recent issue of *Bus Transportation*, these provisions are substantially as follows:

"Class A vehicles include those carrying from one to ten passengers. The ordinance provides that the bus owner shall be liable up to \$5,000 damages for any one person injured in an accident for which the driver is responsible, while a total up to \$11,000 shall be paid under the same conditions if two or more persons are injured.

"Class B vehicles, carrying from eleven to twenty passengers, shall carry insurance up to \$15,000, \$5,000 of which is to be paid to any one person injured and a maximum total of \$15,000 to all persons injured in case of liability.

"Class C vehicles shall carry a maximum insurance of \$20,000 with the same provisions in case of injury as Class B. This class includes all vehicles carrying more than twenty passengers.

"The ordinance provides four ways by which bus owners may secure insurance. The first method is through an indemnity bond either by individuals or by an indemnity company. The

second is through liability insurance. The third through the presentation of evidence that the owner is the holder of property the value of which is at least 150 per cent of the maximum insurance required on his type of vehicle, and the fourth, which is an innovation, is through participation in an indemnity fund provided by bus operators. This fourth method is made possible through the payment of \$35 a quarter for all vehicles in Class A; \$50 a quarter for vehicles in Class B and \$65 a quarter for those in Class C.

"These funds are to be placed in the hands of a trustee, and will be paid out in case of accident only after litigation or through private settlement. The trustee is to be appointed by the bus and jitney men's organization which already exists but which will probably be reorganized to function in accordance with the new legislation.

"According to the new regulation the director of safety is privileged to route and schedule buses in accordance with the demands of traffic.

"The ordinance was written in co-operation with the bus and jitney men's association."

While the arrangement outlined above would appear to be somewhat complicated to enforce, it will be interesting to note what effect this ordinance has in reducing accidents due to bus operation in the city of Akron. This will be the real test of its value in helping to solve the traffic problem of that community.



Inadequate Fire Protection Results in Loss of Life at Hospital for Insane.—A fire in the Manhattan State Hospital for the insane, on Wards Island, New York city, which resulted in the loss of life of twenty-two patients and three attendants, occurred in the early morning of February 20, 1923. The fire originated in the hospital wing of a building erected over fifty years ago of non-fire proof construction. After the fire was discovered there was prompt response on the part of the hospital's forces and equipment. However, these facilities proved unable to cope with the situation, and delay in securing help from the New York city fire department, unavoidable on account of the isolated location of the hospital, resulted in the appalling loss of life. Nothing but praise is due the hospital officials and employees in their efforts to meet the emergency. They, together with the unfortunate inmates of the institution, were the victims of unsound policies in providing for just such a need as arose in this particular case.

A sinister phase of the situation lies in the fact

that the recent fire was the sixth to occur at the island during the past 26 years. Following each of these occurrences the press has emphasized the need for additional fire protection facilities at the institution, but apparently neither the public nor those state officials responsible for making suitable provision in these matters has adequately appreciated the tremendous seriousness of the situation. Immediately after the fire, following the customary practice of "locking the door after the horse is stolen," numerous investigations have been started to determine the cause of the disaster. One encouraging feature of the latter is that provision is also made for reporting on conditions in other state and city institutions that constitute a hazard to their inmates. If the results of such study awaken the public to an appreciation of its responsibility for providing adequate protection for the wards of society and causes it to make articulate demands for such protection much will be accomplished.

With the view of meeting such need as may be demonstrated for additional building construction at state institutions, Governor Smith has proposed a state bond issue of fifty million dollars to provide funds for these purposes. As has been pointed out by the New York State Association, there are sound objections to authorizing any such extensive bond issue for new construction at state institutions. Doubtless there is immediate need for increasing the capacity and usefulness of certain state institutions by providing new construction. Such provision should be made but should not entail excessively heavy expenditures. Of equal if not greater importance, however, is the need for providing sufficient funds for building maintenance and operation and the carrying out of such preventive measures as will reduce to a minimum hazards of all kinds to institutional inmates and others. It is in respect to such matters that there has been serious negligence. There is a timely warning in the tragedy at Wards Island that deserves thoughtful consideration by public officials throughout the United States.

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Questionable Economies in Municipal Government.—Economical administration of municipal government is at all times greatly to be desired, and frequently in order to accomplish this it is necessary for the administration of a city to make material reductions in personnel and other changes. At the same time extreme

care is necessary in the determination of what constitute sound economies in such matters lest the policy followed prove to be one of "saving at the spigot and wasting at the bung hole." Recent disclosures with respect to the situation in Cleveland following an energetic campaign for economy conducted by Mayor Kohler of that city lead to the conviction that certain of the policies followed and action taken by the mayor in these matters are of doubtful wisdom. The courageous attitude of Mayor Kohler in undertaking to administer the affairs of the city so as to equalize expenditures with income, a condition that has not obtained in Cleveland for several years, deserves and has won praise. In fact, particular credit is due the mayor on account of the way that Cleveland, together with other Ohio cities, is handicapped by the restrictive financial laws of that state. However, the methods employed in effecting economies have not alone displayed a lack of appreciation of technical needs and functions in city administration, but also have included arbitrary interference with the operation of certain technical departments that has resulted in antagonizing competent department heads and others responsible for carrying on the work of those departments. This state of affairs brought about the recent resignation of both the director of public utilities, Arthur R. Roberts, a prominent consulting engineer of Cleveland, and his first assistant, George W. Kneisly. Arbitrary demands on the part of the mayor for the discontinuance of the employment of a consulting engineer on water purification, and that contracts for auxiliary works at the Baldwin reservoir and filtration plant be awarded to the general contractor for that plant, are said to be among the causes for the break between the mayor and those officials. Other action on the mayor's part that has aroused professional criticism included the dismemberment of the technical staff of the sewage disposal division and material reductions in the operating forces at the sewage and water purification plants.

It is not within the province of *THE REVIEW* to pass judgment on the acts of Mayor Kohler in these matters. It is desired, however, to call attention to certain elements in the present situation in Cleveland which are of interest to the taxpayers of that community. The city of Cleveland has recently completed the construction of two sewage disposal plants and is considering further extension of these facilities.

The work already done represents an expenditure of several millions of dollars. Also the city is engaged in carrying out a comprehensive plan for furnishing additional water supply which will require several years to complete and involve heavy expenditures. Experience has thoroughly demonstrated the need for a trained and competent force in the operation of sewage disposal plants if these facilities are to furnish the service for which they are designed. Common sense would demand that careful judgment be exercised in the determination of the force required for the efficient operation of such plants merely to ensure a satisfactory return on the city's investment. There are indications that under present conditions requirements in this matter are not met. The water supply project is under the jurisdiction of the director of public utilities of Cleveland.

It is fundamental that the successful prosecution of any extensive public construction such as the contemplated extension of Cleveland's water supply facilities depends to a considerable extent on continuity of policy and administrative control. An excellent example of the soundness of this doctrine is the accomplishment of the New York board of water supply in developing the Catskill supply for that city. A few years ago the city of Cleveland paid a heavy penalty for a mismanaged piece of public works construction in the failure of the clear water basin for the city's new West Side filtration plant. Responsibility for this failure was placed by the United States district court squarely on the city. There is no necessity for commenting further on the various elements entering into that decision. However, it may be safely stated that any policy on the part of the city government that tends to alienate reputable and competent professional public servants is liable to cause conditions that make for laxity in the administration of public works for which the city may pay dearly in the end. There is food for thought for the taxpayers of the city of Cleveland in the possibility that the methods employed for the sole purpose of reducing city expenditures may jeopardize seriously the larger interests of the community.

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The Beccari Zymothermic Cell Method of Garbage Disposal.—A novel method of garbage treatment which possesses features that should command the serious attention of municipal officials has been installed recently in a plant at

Paterson, New Jersey. This method, developed by an Italian scientist, Dr. Giuseppe Beccari, employs a device known as the Beccari Zymothermic Cell. The process depends for its action on slow fermentation, or the oxidizing and nitrifying effect of the air on the organic matter of which the garbage is composed. No fuel is required in the process, the garbage receives no other treatment, the product is a dry odorless residue of high nitrogen content, valuable as a fertilizer.

The disposal plant consists of a series of cells or chambers arranged in such a manner as to permit the introduction of the charge through a trap door or scuttle in the roof, while the resultant fertilizer is removed through a door at the floor level. In size the cells are commonly built about nine feet wide, ten feet long and ten feet in depth. Ordinarily they are built of concrete, brick or other masonry. An essential feature of the process is the introduction of air into the mass of garbage and the draining off of water. Air is admitted at the bottom of the cell through openings in the walls below the door, and by means of a system of circulating flues permeates the charge, promotes the growth of nitrifying bacteria, which produces a high nitrogen content in the residue. The floor is in the form of a grating, providing suitable drainage for the liquids contained in the garbage and at the same time permitting the circulation of air through the mass.

In order to permit draining a sump is constructed which may be connected with a sewer if desired. The accumulated liquids in the sump may be pumped up over the contents of the cells if they become too dry. This application acts as a primer to the garbage and tends to accelerate the process of fermentation. After the air passes through the mass the gases which it contains are conducted to ventilators.

These ventilators consist substantially of a series of shelves or trays so arranged as to cause the gases and air passing through to pass around and over each tray in succession. The trays are filled with argillaceous and calcareous earth. The passage of the gases over these materials results in deodorizing them and also produces colonies of nitrifying bacteria which add greatly to the fertilizing value of the product.

Ordinarily, in order to save in construction and at the same time conserve space, cells are constructed in batteries of four. By this arrangement the back and middle walls serve for

two cells, while each ventilator and sump serves four cells. The chemical and bacterial action taking place in the cell is complex. It is interesting to note, however, that it results in the destruction of the pathogenic bacilli of contagious and infectious diseases and also the numerous animal parasites which infect men and domestic animals.

After a cell is charged to capacity it is not opened until the cycle of operation has terminated, which ordinarily is about forty-five days. The freedom from nuisance in the operation of these plants seems to depend upon the very practical point that it is possible to dispose of each load of refuse promptly on its arrival at the plant, thereby avoiding the possibility of creating the nuisance from flies and odors which arises when garbage stands in large or small quantities awaiting disposal. No dust is created by the process and the product of the cell in the form of fertilizer or humus is free from odors and can be stored without hazard, if necessary, in large quantities while awaiting shipment.

It is obvious that the operating cost of a plant of this kind is very low. There are no moving parts requiring attention and practically no depreciation in the structure. A particular advantage would seem to lie in its flexibility of application. The same type of plant would be used for a community of 5,000 as would be required for one of 500,000. The only question

would be the number of units necessary to take care of the amount of community waste. This would tend to decrease the initial cost of construction, as additional units could be built to meet the growing needs of the community. Also, a process of this kind offers the possibility of constructing small plants at a number of locations throughout a city, thereby cutting down the haul necessary to deliver garbage at the point of final disposal. It is stated that plants have been constructed in six Italian cities ranging in population from 200,000 up to 700,000 and in a large number of smaller communities having populations from 5,000 to 10,000.

The fact that this process produces a fertilizer of considerable value is deserving of some consideration. However, the intelligent policy of garbage disposal anywhere has been epitomized by a New York city commission in a recent report as follows: "The best plan of garbage disposal is seen to be one free from nuisance. The public health is greater than any other consideration; making a profit should be of secondary consideration." The Beccari method would seem to embody enough of the essential requirements of a garbage disposal system to command the serious consideration of those communities at present receiving unduly expensive or unsatisfactory service in this matter or others contemplating the installation of waste disposal facilities.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Ohio Legislature Considers County Home Rule.—Although it is unlikely to pass the legislature, a proposal to amend the constitution to grant to counties the power to draft their own charters has aroused considerable excitement in Ohio. The resolution before the legislature also permits city-county consolidation in counties of 100,000 population and larger. This feature is particularly disliked by those Cleveland suburbs which are geographically and economically a part of Cleveland but which have hotly resisted every tendency towards annexation.



Report of City Planning Commission of Atlanta, Georgia, for 1922.—The annual report of the city planning commission of Atlanta, for 1922 is a document of 28 pages, containing a history of city planning legislation in Atlanta; a statement of planning achievement; a program for the future by Robert Whitten, their consultant; and an appendix giving the text of the planning and zoning laws, the laws for street widening and extension, the assessment of local benefits, and the approval of sub-division plats, the regulations for platting and the zoning ordinance. The report is one which the city planner will gratefully welcome.



Recall of the Manager in Long Beach, California.—After eighteen months of very efficient service the manager of Long Beach was recalled at a recent special election at which less than one-half of the registered voters of the city participated.

Four days after the selection of Mr. Hewes a group of men called at his office and requested him to remove the chief of police. The manager refused to act until he had studied the situation and informed himself on the qualifications of the incumbent. A club was formed by several disgruntled citizens with the avowed purpose of removing the manager. This organization had the backing of several of the elected officials of the city who had and still oppose this form of municipal organization. Unfortunately for the city the freeholders who wrote the charter had no professional advice in drafting the instrument and the result is a poor compromise of the features

which each freeholder and the existing office-holders desired.

It is acknowledged that the recalled manager was not a politician and had no use for political methods in his work or appointments. He was instrumental in having passed a very well-drafted zoning ordinance, an equalization of assessments, and other advance legislation. All of these measures had their opponents and with a crystallized opposition working against the usual apathy and trust in a hard-working official the result was to be expected.

A movement is now starting to amend the charter by removing the provision for the recall on the manager. The manager form of charter is well established in Long Beach, and with several changes made in the appointment instead of popular election of administrative officials would probably stand the test of time and experience.

E. A. C.



Nassau County Charter Completed.—The proposed charter for Nassau county, the first county charter proposed in New York state, was introduced in the legislature, on March 5. If approved at this session the charter will be submitted to the people of the county next fall, and if adopted will go into effect in 1925.

The chief difficulty which the charter faces is that of providing a central government strong enough to meet the exacting demands of a growing suburban and rural population, while at the same time preserving all essential village and city governments within the county in their integrity and preserving those features of township government which are not as yet obsolete. Incidentally the charter will provide a substantial degree of home rule to the county. The new form of government provides for a county president elected at large, and for the continuance of the present small board of supervisors, elected by township as a legislative body, and for a board of estimate. The county president is to appoint the heads of all administrative agencies subject to the approval of the board of supervisors. Centralized health, welfare, taxation, assessment, planning, public works, police,

purchasing and civil service control are provided. An executive budget system is set up. The justices of the peace are to be supplanted by full-time, inferior court judges. The townships and a number of their existing functions are retained. The charter includes a planning and zoning chapter which is probably the first of its kind dealing with suburban and rural conditions; and a chapter providing for a new unit of government for local utility purposes to be known as the "village district." The "village district" does away with present overlapping, special tax districts, and aims to eliminate the necessity for creating new villages.

A more extended description of this charter will appear in the REVIEW for May.

ROBERT MOSES.



Pennsylvania To Have a Single Home Rule Act.—The Craig Home Rule Act, drafted by a committee of city solicitors, has been reported out of the House committee on municipal corporations as committed; and prospects for its enactment are now distinctly favorable. An accurate test of sentiment for the act was afforded by the committee's public hearing on March 6, at which no opposition developed. On the same date the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, which supported the home rule amendment, submitted the provisions of the Craig Act to a referendum vote of its membership.

This enabling act applies to all classes of cities and its provisions are permissive in character. A city may keep its present legislative charter or draft its own charter through the medium of an elected charter commission of fifteen members.

Upon vote of two-thirds of its membership, council may, or on petition signed by at least 20 per cent of the total number of currently qualified electors in the city, council shall provide by ordinance for submission to the electors of the question whether a commission shall be chosen to frame a charter. Candidates for the commission shall be voted upon at the same election.

No question for the election of a commission to frame a new charter or amendments to an existing charter shall be submitted oftener than once in four years. Amendments prepared by council or by petition of the electors may be proposed at any general or municipal election.

Each city taking advantage of this act shall have and may exercise all powers of local self-government. The home rule charter may pro-

vide for any system of municipal government not inconsistent with the constitution of the United States or of the commonwealth.

The powers of local self-government granted in this act shall be limited by (1) laws applicable to a class or classes of cities on the subjects of rates and sources of taxation, assessment of property and persons for taxation, condemnation of property for public purposes, assessment of damages and benefits therefor, incurring or increasing of indebtedness, annexation or detachment of territory, personal registration of electors and regulation of public schools; (2) laws applicable in every part of the commonwealth; and (3) laws applicable to all the cities of the commonwealth.

LEONARD P. FOX.



The Federal Reclassification Bill Passes.—The so-called Sterling-Lehlbach bill reclassifying the federal employees was approved by congress in the last days of the session and signed by the president. The measure in its final form was in the nature of a compromise which aimed to reconcile all of the different proposals and points of view as to the preparation and administration of standard salaries and grades. The Federation of Federal Employees was largely responsible for the passage of the bill.

The passage of this bill represents the culmination of a number of years' effort to bring about an improvement in personnel conditions in the federal service. While the resulting law will be disappointing to most students of this problem, all sensible people will realize that it at least establishes the vital principles of an equitable wage policy administered by executive authority and that the new salaries and grades will go a long way toward improving the morale of the present government employees and attracting competent new people to the government service.

The bureau of efficiency has, for some time, insisted upon a classification, administered by the bureau and based merely on overlapping salary grades. The civil service commission desired a functional classification based upon duties, under civil service supervision. Other groups interested in the federal budget system have urged that salary and wage control is an important part of budget control and that the bureau of the budget should administer the new classification and should recommend changes based upon its studies of the organizations of departments. The bureau of efficiency was sup-

ported by the chairman of the senate finance committee. The civil service commission had its supporters among reformers and among federal employees. The bureau of the budget, while not itself active, had many proponents. The final bill was drafted so that it provides a classification based upon duties, the overlapping salary ranges proposed by the bureau of efficiency, and administration of the new system by a board of three, including representatives of the bureau of the budget, bureau of efficiency and the civil service commission.

Automatically the entire budget for personal service now becomes a lump sum budget to be administered so far as employees of the District of Columbia are concerned, by the new reclassification commission. This commission is also to prepare in the course of the coming year, a classification on similar lines applicable to federal employees outside of the District of Columbia. The reclassification bill and its administration will be discussed in the next REVIEW.

ROBERT MOSES.

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To Throw Light on Loose Bond Practices.—

Dangerous and unbusinesslike practices by cities and other taxing districts have led municipal bondholders in several states to join in naming a committee to study a plan for correcting nationwide abuses in handling municipal bonds that now total about 11 billion dollars. The committee consists of Howard F. Beebe, Harris, Forbes & Company, New York, member board of governors and ex-president and ex-chairman of the municipal securities committee of the Investment Bankers Association of America; Harry M. Cutler, vice-president of the National Life Insurance Company, Montpelier, Vt.; V. A. Lersner, vice-president of the Bowery Savings Bank, and president of the Savings Bank Association of the State of New York; Reginald H. Fullerton, Bankers Trust Company; Mark T. McKee, Detroit, representing fraternal associations of North America; and Charles F. Cushman, of the New York Life Insurance Company.

The report which prompted this committee of bondholders was prepared by the committee on non-partisan facts and is entitled *Typical Abuses in Handling Municipal Bonds*. It gives actual abuses found by Gaylord C. Cummin of the Institute for Public Service when helping cities, counties and school districts correct defects in governmental methods. Twenty-nine abuses are listed.

The following specific cases are among those mentioned:

1. Contrary to state law, bonds totalling \$275,000 were authorized as general lighting bonds although intended and actually used for paying current lighting bills.

2. Contrary to state law, bonds in excess of the debt limit were issued. The water works debt was subtracted on the claim that it was self-supporting, although it was actually not self-supporting,—a danger that is growing by leaps and bounds because of the increase in municipal ownership.

3. Assessed valuations were jumped 25 per cent above true values for the purpose of increasing the bondable debt limit.

4. Forty-year bonds were issued for paved streets and country roads which will wear out in ten or twenty years; 20 per cent of outstanding bonds represent no present values, while 34 per cent more are refunding issues.

5. Over one-half the total revenues from taxes were required to pay debt with the result that police, fire, schools and other services were seriously crippled; this means endangering the debt service because communities will not keep on paying distant debtors at grave risk to their own life and health.

6. Such heavy debt payments falling due in one year that payment at maturity is politically impossible.

7. In not one of thirty communities studied were the sinking funds correct; they were usually very much undersize and in one or two instances very much overpaid.

8. Contrary to ordinances, several cities have failed to establish the sinking fund which they promised when they issued their bonds.

9. A county offering bonds advertised a net debt of only 4 per cent of assessed valuation; the fact was omitted that 90 per cent of this valuation was all in one city which also had school and city debts equal to 10 per cent.

10. Just plain bad business methods widely endanger bonds; cities are careless in collecting delinquent taxes; one city's arrears equal 80 per cent of its annual levy; one city's agent paid over 200 bond coupons that did not belong to his city at all; one unusually intelligent board thought it had a deficit of \$300,000 when it really had a surplus of \$354,000.

Mr. H. A. Metz is chairman of the committee on non-partisan facts of the Institute of Public Service and Dr. William H. Allen is secretary.

Bureau of Public Welfare Proposed for St. Louis County, Minnesota.—A Report on the Organization of the Public Welfare Agencies of St. Louis County, Minnesota, prepared by Robert M. Goodrich, executive secretary of the Taxpayers' League of that county, at the suggestion of State Senator Fred E. Bassette, contains much of interest for students of county government. The author reports that there are 16 public agencies for social welfare in St. Louis county, supported in whole or in part by county taxes, and spending about \$650,000 annually, including a poor commission, probation officer, child welfare board, supervisory agency for the blind, county nurses, county health officer, a work farm, a sanatorium, and others. Nine of these agencies are controlled by boards, aggregating 38 members. As the result of study of the administration of these various agencies, the author comes to the conclusion that administrative responsibility for the varied activities should be centralized, vested in the fewest possible number of persons, and the agencies correlated as to function to make possible the exchange of ideas, information and service.

In line with these conclusions the report recommends the creation of a public welfare bureau for the entire county of St. Louis, under the control of the board of county commissioners which is the elective body. It is proposed that the board of county commissioners appoint a director of the public welfare bureau from a list of three eligible persons, submitted by the state board of control, which is the state agency for charities administration, and that this director have complete executive management of all the county agencies consolidated, including the appointment and removal of all employees. An advisory board of citizens of not less than seven members is also recommended for appointment by the county commissioners to confer with the director of the public welfare bureau and report to the county commissioners. Four divisions of the bureau are suggested: (1) health, (2) institutions, (3) service and family relief, (4) child welfare. A special tax for the support of the proposed bureau is advised, to be based upon budget estimates submitted by the director and approved by the county commissioners. A confidential ex-

change for the use of all social agencies, public and private, the transfer of all purchasing power to the county purchasing agent, and the keeping of all financial records of the bureau in the county auditor's office, are also urged.

The plan thus proposed accords with the present-day trend toward consolidation in government and better organization of local health and welfare services on a county or district basis. Similar studies of local governmental activities looking toward their better correlation and more centralized administration on a county basis have recently been made by a joint legislative committee in New York state under the leadership of State Senator Frederick M. Davenport. The St. Louis county study advocates for later consideration the division of the entire state into districts, in each of which all health and social welfare work shall be done under the control and direction of the state. The county plan described is therefore to be considered merely a first step in a proposed general state reorganization in Minnesota.

Certainly the program offered in the report has much to commend it. Local welfare administration in Minnesota is apparently as ineffective and wasteful as it is almost everywhere else. Health and charities work in local communities is being conducted in much the same way as fifty years ago, although the amount of money being spent has multiplied many times, and the duties devolving upon local authorities have become more arduous and demand far more skilled treatment. County and town government needs more thorough study in every state, and such study as has been made in St. Louis county in Minnesota will undoubtedly stimulate other counties to do likewise. Its author, Robert M. Goodrich, and the organization which he represents, the Taxpayers' League of St. Louis county, are to be congratulated on a worth while contribution to the science of government administration.

C. E. McCOMBS.



P. R. Constitutional in Ohio.—As we go to press, word is received that the Ohio supreme court has sustained the constitutionality of the proportional representation provisions of the recently amended Cleveland charter.

II. CITY MANAGER NOTES

Edited by JOHN G. STUTZ

Executive Secretary, City Managers' Association

Rush to Pay Poll Tax.—Following the publication in a local paper of an article by the manager of Nowata, Oklahoma, illustrating the cost incurred by one man who forgot to pay his poll tax, eight men were waiting for Manager Oscar Dobbs when he arrived at the office the next morning. During the day twenty-two others came in and paid their poll taxes. Several of them were men whose days of grace had expired and for whom a warrant for their arrest was about to be issued.

City Manager Fred Rhodes of San Diego, California, has recommended to the council a proposition to construct a boulevard around Balboa Park. The proposition will go on the ballot at the primary on March 20.

City Manager Graesser of Temple, Texas, is a member of the executive committee of the League of Texas Municipalities, and will be one of the principal speakers at the convention to be held at Bryan, Texas, on May 9 and 10.

The Town Crier.—The second issue of the *Clarksburg Town Crier*, published by City Manager Harrison G. Otis under the authority of the city government, tells, among many other interesting municipal items, of the capture and imprisonment of nine members of a black-hand gang who have been terrorizing the citizens of Clarksburg.

City Manager Ernest E. Lothrop of Mansfield, Massachusetts, has been granted an increase in salary of \$400 a year, making his present salary \$4,000 per year.

A Municipal Ice Plant which is owned by the city of Hinsdale, Illinois, has been operated at a saving of 30 per cent on the cost of ice to the consumers, according to City Manager Frank D. Danielson.

P. P. Pilcher, city manager of New Smyrna, Florida, has resigned, effective March 1.

Colby and Boonville, Missouri, have been making considerable progress in the campaign for the adoption of the city manager plan.

The City Officials and citizens of Harriman, Tennessee, have for some time been making an investigation of the city manager and commission forms of government in view of changing their charter.

Berkeley, California, with a population of 56,036, adopted the city manager plan by a majority of 2,160 out of a total vote of 8,312.

Knoxville Approves Manager Plan.—The citizens of Knoxville, Tennessee, cast their ballots for a change of government on March 3. The following are the results of the election:

City manager plan	3,882
Mayor-alderman plan	1,802
Commission form	295

The Indiana Senate has postponed indefinitely the bill repealing the Indiana city manager law and therefore the cities of Indiana may continue to adopt the city manager plan when they so elect.

The Charter creating the city manager form of government for Albany, Georgia, did not carry, and the case is now in the court to decide the status of the plan. The city will be governed by the mayor-council plan as formerly until a decision is made.

C. M. Constitutional in Wyoming.—The supreme court of Wyoming handed out a decision on February 15 that the city manager law of that state was constitutional with the exception of two points out of nine. The court ruled that the whole law was not void by reason of these two unconstitutional provisions.

Tracey V. Stephens of Excelsior Springs, Missouri, died at the Excelsior Springs sanitarium, February 25, of pneumonia. Mr. Stephens had been city manager of Excelsior Springs since July, 1922, having come to that position from Lansdown, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Philadelphia, where he was employed as a consulting engineer. Mr. Stephens had conducted the affairs of the city in a most satisfactory way, according to Mayor Hugh Wilhite. His work and plans for the city will be a lasting record.

III. AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION ITEMS

Meeting American Civic Association in Washington.—The officers of the American Civic Association are arranging for a day early in April, when the Japanese cherry trees are in blossom, a meeting of the Executive Board in Washington, to be followed by a trip around the Federal City and a dinner conference with the Washington members of the association and others interested in the right development of the capital of the country.

The Lincoln Memorial is now open to the public and the setting is gradually being brought into shape. Water has been turned into the reflecting pool and the terraces have been sodded. The white marble columns, set four-square on firm foundations, frame the bronze figure of Abraham Lincoln which rests between the bronze tablets bearing his words, which live in the hearts of the American people.



If We Value Our Federal City, Let Us Protect It.—The people of the United States have the unique distinction of possessing a Federal City designed for, and devoted to, a single industry—the manufacture of national government. Washington belongs to all the people. If it is to develop in a worthy way it must have the interest and support of the people. In a recent letter to Mr. Frederick A. Delano of Washington, after a visit to the national capital, the eminent English town planner, Mr. Raymond Unwin, says of Washington:

Lord Bryce's booklet on Washington and its site is a good piece of work, and I am glad to notice what emphasis he lays on the beauty of the situation and of the surroundings of Washington. I feel that in the new Lincoln Memorial the traditions of the city have been worthily maintained if not surpassed. If the future additions to that central group of buildings around the Mall can be considered with anything like the care, and treated with anything like the spirit and capacity that have given you the glorious Lincoln Memorial, then, indeed, the surpassing beauty of the center of the city will be assured and will become an example to all modern towns. I hope, however, that those with whom the care of the city rests will not overlook the importance of preserving uninjured that fine setting to which Lord Bryce gives so much attention, and that a somewhat stricter control may be kept on the development of the outskirts, particularly those outside the area included in the definite Washington plan, because it is evident from what has already happened that the views from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, from the Capitol, and other points of vantage, may soon be so seriously injured by ragged and incongruous developments on the outskirts as to detract materially from the central area. I

believe public opinion will probably prove strong enough at no very distant date to secure the rectification of the damages to the central area which some of the semi-temporary war buildings have effected; because there are constantly before the eye in the parts of the city in which the country takes special pride. But the public are much less able to appreciate the broad scenic effects or to realize how these can be preserved by proper guidance of the development. I wish it were possible to create a planning commission for Greater Washington and to have a scheme of development prepared which, apart from the practical considerations that must, of course, be provided for, would be directed to preserving the surrounding scenery from injury and so ordering the future developments and preserving sufficient of the prominent points to secure woodland cover and the general background of foliage to the pictures which the beautiful groups of central buildings make, and will, I hope, continue to develop.

It is to protect the development of Washington that the American Civic Association is announcing for the autumn its fact service on the Federal City.



Obstruction Tactics Threaten the Washington Plan.—On February 24, just seven working days before the adjournment of congress, an obscure item in the third deficiency appropriation bill for the current year came before the house of representatives. It read:

For repairing and reconstructing the main conservatory of the Botanic Garden, including personal services, labor, materials, and all other expenses incident to such work, fiscal years 1923 and 1924, \$117,635. The foregoing work shall be performed under the supervision of the architect of the Capitol after consultation with the director of the Botanic Garden.

On the floor of the house Representative Madden stated that there was great danger of the present building falling down with "great loss of life as a result."

Those who read the article on *The L'Enfant Plan and the Botanic Garden* in the REVIEW for July, 1921, will remember that the present Botanic Garden, with its conservatory and its house in which the superintendent lives, cuts across the mall approach to the Capitol, and that the location of the impressive Grant Memorial, unveiled last year, and of the Meade Memorial, in course of construction, within the old Botanic Garden, have sufficiently indicated the will of congress that the Burnham plan for the development of this area be carried out. It was with some surprise, therefore, that those who have advocated the removal of the old conservatory, read in the

evening paper that the house of representatives had voted for this expenditure to rebuild the conservatory in its present incongruous location. Representatives Cooper and Stafford of Wisconsin opposed the appropriation to rebuild the conservatory on the grounds that it would delay for many years the development of the mall approach to the Capitol as advocated by the Fine Arts Commission. In spite of this vigorous opposition the bill included this item when it went to the senate.

The senate sub-committee, at the request of many civic organizations and public-spirited individuals, reported a substitute item, which was adopted by the senate read:

For the removal and re-erection of the main conservatory on a site south of the Capitol in the area set apart for the enlargement of the Botanic Garden, including personal services, labor, materials, and all other expenses, incident to such work, fiscal years 1923 and 1924, \$117,635, etc.

When the bill went to conference the house conferees decided to let the whole matter go over to another congress. The \$117,635 which could have been claimed towards the building of a new conservatory was declined. If the old conservatory is as dangerous as it was claimed on the floor of the house the lives of caretakers and visitors are threatened daily; but the house committee evidently prefers to risk human lives rather than allow this particular glass house to be removed.

The incident would be laughable were it not for the fact that the appropriation would probably have slipped through in the rush of the closing days if the eternal vigilance of those who "watch" congress had not brought the matter to the attention of the senate committee, and if it had slipped through the almost certain result would have been to delay the development of the approach to the Capitol and the setting for the Grant and Meade Memorials for another generation.

The realization of the plan for Washington ought not to hang on such a slender thread of chance. There should be a well-informed public opinion, zealous to protect the plan, which would make flagrant proposals to obstruct the plan so unpopular that no committee in congress would dream of supporting them.



National Parks in the Last Days of the 67th Congress.—The American people have become accustomed during the past few years to a con-

gress in almost continuous session. The prospect that nine months will elapse before the first regular session of the sixty-eighth congress resulted in a concentration of pressure upon congress by advocates of special favors for the home folks.

The provision for the all-year-park included in the Bursum bill (S. 3519) which passed the senate August 17, 1922, and came before the house committee on Indian affairs for hearings on January 11, 1923, was hotly contested. Representatives of scores of organizations comprising many thousands of civic-minded men and women opposed the park features in this bill. The park was advocated by those who reside near it. Secretary Fall appeared personally in behalf of the bill. There was no doubt that a park within the Mescalero Indian Reservation was desired by the local citizens. No evidence was offered before the committee to prove that the land was of national-park quality or that it conformed in any respect to the definitions of a national park set forth in the American Civic Association's Primer on Parks. The committee was not in possession of the expert opinion of the National Park Service concerning the area. After the public hearings the committee endeavored to agree upon an amended bill which would have eliminated some of the objectionable features but which would have created a national park of an area yet unproved in qualifications and an area which, apparently, could not be entirely alienated from the Indians. The committee, however, was unable to agree upon this amended bill and congress adjourned leaving the bill in committee.

Secretary Fall had announced his policy that he would like to have incorporated into the national park system all areas offered in gift. He had made it clear that he would like to see the service of national parks extended to all parts of the country. He failed to take into consideration that nature has not distributed her scenery, like the members of congress, geographically. He failed to profit by the experience of cities. Municipal officials have learned by sad experience that they cannot accept all gifts offered to the city. Municipal officials are becoming increasingly discriminating in their acceptance of gifts. National officials should be equally discriminating. The theory that the National Park Service should accept all gifts of land and so increase its acreage without regard to quality of the landscape or national appeal of its scenic wonders is one which leads straight to confusion and

ultimate destruction of the national park system, brought together over a period of years at great cost of effort and service. It is true that there are a few areas within the present system which may not come up to the standard, but if the national park system becomes a catch-all for park areas desired by every village and hamlet and town it will become a national scandal equal to the rivers and harbors appropriations and the post offices of old. The only safety for the national park system is that its areas should fall so clearly within the national standard that they unquestionably can be protected against alienation to other uses.

Acting upon this theory the American Civic Association opposed the passage of the Slemph bill (H. R. 12953) to establish a national park in Virginia to be called Appalachia National Park, comprising some five thousand acres on the summit of Knob Mountain to be donated to the government. The area had been examined by an official of the department of the interior, but not by any member of the National Park Service. At the hearing on the bill before the house committee on public lands a representative from Kentucky appeared with rival claims for another national park a few miles across the line in Kentucky. But the American Civic Association was not satisfied to oppose the bill without offering a constructive alternative. It was urged that the area would undoubtedly make an excellent

state park and the proponents of the bill were given cordial invitations to attend the State Park Conference to be held at Turkey Run State Park, Indiana, May 7, 8 and 9. This bill died in committee as did a similar bill introduced into the senate by Senator Swanson of Virginia.

Unfortunately the Barbour bill to exchange certain lands and extend the Sequoia National Park to include the beautiful Kings River Valley, introduced into the sixty-seventh congress on June 29, 1921, also died with the adjournment of congress. The National Park Service had passed on this land. The National Parks Committee, composed of organizations interested in, and informed concerning, parks, had endorsed the bill. The national forest service had advocated it. The American Civic Association had urged the passage of the Barbour bill during the sixty-seventh congress because the power interests look with longing eyes on these valleys which rival the Yosemite, as cheap reservoirs for compounding water to develop enormous power projects for profit.

A philosopher cannot refrain from reflecting that it seems harder to secure the passage of a bill clearly in the interests of the people at large than to push through bills in the interests of local groups who know exactly what they want or in the interests of commercial groups who stand to profit by free use of the public domain.

HARLEAN JAMES.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

A Social Service News Syndicate.—Better Times, Inc., publisher of *Better Times*, the lively magazine published each month under the editorship of Mr. George J. Hecht, has inaugurated the Better Times Syndicate. The purpose of the Syndicate is to provide its members with news and editorial service dealing with various phases of civic development, housing, city planning, public health, education, safety and recreation. Newspapers, magazines, chambers of commerce, etc., are subscribing to the Syndicate in gratifying numbers.

Prominent men engaged to write feature stories for the service include Dr. George E. Vincent, Lawson Purdy, Walter Camp, Heinrich Van Loon and Arthur Guiterman.

A nominal charge is made proportionate to the size of the community in which the subscribing publication circulates. The address is Better Times Syndicate, 100 Gold Street, New York.

Proposed that Chicago River Become Drive-way.—A novel plan for utilizing the space now occupied by the Chicago river and for increasing street facilities as a relief for congestion has been submitted by Angus S. Hibbard, consulting engineer, to Charles H. Wacker, president of the Chicago Plan Commission. Mr. Hibbard states that the Chicago river is used less and less each year for purposes of navigation beyond Michigan Boulevard. He, therefore, proposes to close the river for navigation at Michigan Boulevard and to construct on concrete piling a street the entire width of the river for nearly two miles. He would provide access for motor vehicles of all kinds where needed and preserve all bridges and construct others so that the new street would be crossed at the levels of the present river. Properties now backing on unused river docks would thereafter be located on valuable street frontage.

Mr. Hibbard concludes that the Chicago river

was never a thing of beauty and is now, as a river, of little use. Before spending millions on other plans he asks consideration for the possibilities of making the river a great thoroughfare rather than to confine Chicago still more within her loop boundaries and to compel her forever to gaze hopelessly on a great open sewer.

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A Correction.—We regret an error in the note upon the Long Beach manager recall in the January issue, which appeared under the name of Mr. Paul B. Wilcox, but which was in fact a mistake of the editor. The water meter alterca-

tion which was attributed to Long Beach really occurred in Lawton, Oklahoma, which city abandoned manager government on November 7, 1922.

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The Eleventh Annual Convention of the League of Texas Municipalities will be held at Bryan, Texas, May 9 to 10.

*

Mr. Warner C. Brockway, formerly of the Michigan State Department of Health, has joined the staff of the Duluth Taxpayers' League.